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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL 1806.

No. XV.

ART. I. *War in Diſguiſe, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags.* Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 252. London, 1806.

THIS is a pamphlet of great merit, upon a ſubject of very general importance. It is written with uncommon talent and conſiderable eloquence; and is diſtinguiſhed by that full and ſyſtematic argument, and alſo perhaps by that tone of confidence, anxiety, and exaggeration, which we expect to meet in the pleadings of a profeſſional advocate. Though we have been very much ſtruck with ſome of the ſtatements and reaſonings of the ingenious author, we are not prepared to adopt the whole of his concluſions; and as the ſubject is immediately intereſting to a greater variety of perſons than uſually concern themſelves with international diſcuſſions, we ſhall firſt endeavour to give a clear abſtract of the views and doctrines ſet forth in this publication, and then ſubjoin ſuch obſervations as have occurred to us upon the great queſtion to which it relates.

The queſtion, our readers are probably aware, relates mainly to the right claimed by neutral nations to traffic with the colonies of our enemies in time of war. By the general policy of Europe, the trade of colonies has uſually been monopolized by the mother country; and, in time of peace, no other nation has been permitted either to export their produce, or to furniſh them with ſupplies. In the preſent, and in former wars, however, the colonial trade of France has been in a great degree thrown open to neutrals; and it is the object of this author to point out to his countrymen the nature and extent of the injury which has reſulted to our cauſe from their interference, and the juſtice and expediency of endeavouring to put a ſtop to it.

He ſets out with a ſhort hiſtorical ſummary of the origin and progreſs of this evil, and of the means hitherto employed to reſiſt it. It was in the war 1756, he informs us, that France was firſt

driven, by the preſſure of maritime hoſtility, to relax her colonial monopoly, and to invite neutral nations to reſort to her Weſt Indian ports, for the purpoſe both of furniſhing ſupplies to the colonies, and of carrying their produce, apparently as neutral property, to market. The prize courts of this country, however, had at that time no difficulty in determining this trade to be illegal, and condemning the veſſels engaged in it, however clearly the property might appear to be neutral. The principle of theſe deciſions, which has ſince been generally known by the name of 'the rule of the war 1756,' was ſubſtantially this, 'that a neutral has no right to deliver a belligerent from the preſſure of his enemies' hoſtilities, by trading with his colonies in time of war in a way that was prohibited in time of peace.' This rule was aſſerted and ſubmitted to during the whole period of that war, which only terminated in 1763. Previouſly to the acceſſion of France to the American war, ſhe had in ſome meaſure relaxed her monopoly, and admitted neutrals in time of peace to trade to a certain extent with her colonies: in that war alſo, her maritime inferiority was by no means ſo decided as to diſable her from protecting her trade; and though neutrals did then undoubtedly engage in the colonial trade to a much greater extent than they would have been permitted to do in time of peace, it was not thought adviſeable, in the circumſtances that have been mentioned, and in the peculiar political ſituation of the country, to aſſert to its full effect the rule of the war 1756, by which the trade might have been diſallowed. The author aſſures us, however, that this rule was in no inſtance abandoned or reverſed, though it was not thought proper to apply it, in a caſe of peculiar difficulty both legal and political.

As ſoon as peace was concluded, the colonial monopoly of France was reſumed in its utmoſt rigour, and neutrals were again entirely excluded from a trade which had been entruſted in a great meaſure to their hands. Upon the breaking out of the war 1793, the ſame ſyſtem of evaſion was reſumed, and neutrals openly invited to trade in the ports of the hoſtile colonies. This country immediately reverted to the rule of the war 1756; and, in the end of that year (November 1793), iſſued inſtructions to ſeize all veſſels bringing goods from the hoſtile colonies, or carrying ſupplies to them. This reſolution, however, gave occaſion to warm remonſtrances on the part of America, and, in January 1794, the inſtructions were ſo far modified and relaxed, as only to ſubject to ſeizure 'veſſels coming directly from any port of the colonies to *Europe*.' Matters continued upon this footing till 1798, when a farther indulgence was given to the neutral trade, by permitting the produce of the hoſtile colonies to be carried to the mother country of the neutral trader, whether in Europe or in America, and

and alſo to be brought by them into the ports of this country. This regulation remained in force down to the treaty of Amiens; and immediately upon that pacification, the government of France returned to the principle of ſtrict monopoly, and ſhut the ports of its colonies to all veſſels but its own. On the commencement of the preſent war, the accuſtomed movements took place; the trade of the colonies was once more reſigned by the enemy into the hands of the neutrals; and our government iſſued an inſtruction ſubjecting to ſeizure all veſſels carrying on trade between the ſaid colonies and any country but the mother country of the neutral trader. This is the laſt public inſtruction which has been iſſued by government for the regulation of our cruiſers and ſhips of war; and it is to the conſequences of its ſubſiſtence, and the relaxation of the rule 1756, that the author of the work before us has directed the attention of his readers. In point of hiſtorical ſtatement, it only remains to add, that in the treaty negotiated with America through Mr Jay, it was originally ſtipulated that the French colonial produce imported into that country ſhould not be re-exported to Europe during the war: but the treaty was ratified by the American government with the ſpecial exception of that article, and our adminiſtration thought proper to acquieſce in its rejection.

The author now proceeds to point out the conſequences of this indulgence to the neutral traders, and the extent of the miſchiefs which we have brought upon ourſelves, by this practical relaxation of the rule of the war 1756.

The hoſtile proprietor of the colonial produce will naturally be anxious to tranſmit it to his own country, or to his accuſtomed markets in Europe; and this he is enabled to do, our author aſſures us, in conſequence of the ſubſiſting regulations, in one of two ways. He embarks it in neutral bottoms in the ports of the colony, and inveſts it in the name of a neutral proprietor. If the veſſel belong to an European neutral, ſhe ſails with a clearance for a port in her mother country, and is thus ſecured againſt our captors during the whole homeward voyage. When ſhe arrives on the European coaſt, ſhe ſlips into the mother country of the belligerent, or into any other port to which ſhe had been conſigned by the hoſtile owner. If the neutral be American, this mode of proceeding can ſcarcely ever be adopted; and the practice, in ſuch caſes, is to proceed, in the firſt inſtance, to a port in America, and thence to export the cargo in the ſame or a different bottom to the European market, pointed out by the colonial proprietor.

Theſe double voyages, undertaken for the expreſs purpoſe of avoiding the ſeizure to which the veſſels would have been liable, if they had run directly from the colonies to the European mar-

ket, our author reprobates as moſt fraudulent and unjuſtifiable evaſions of the belligerent rights reſerved to us by our preſent indulgent regulations; and he ſpends a great deal of time in detailing the contrivances by which the device has been ſucceſſively improved, ſo as to be now almoſt ſecure from detection. The great queſtion on all ſuch ſeizures is, whether the continuity of the voyage, from the colony to the European market, has really been broken by an effective and *bona fide* delivery in an American port, and a ſubſequent ſhipment on account of an American owner for Europe; or whether it be evident, from all the circumſtances, that the voyage to America was merely a colour and pretext, and that the original deſtination of the cargo was for the European market to which it is ultimately conſigned? The ingenuity of the neutralizing agents has enabled them to keep pace with the increaſing ſagacity or ſuſpicion of the courts of prize; and ſpeedily taught them to provide, beforehand, all thoſe facts and documents which the moſt recent deciſions had declared to be neceſſary for their ſafety. At firſt, an entire new clearance and ſet of papers, taken on board in the American port, was thought to be ſufficient; but afterwards, when it was made manifeſt that the veſſel merely touched there for the purpoſe of procuring theſe documents, and inſtantly purſued her voyage to Europe, it was found neceſſary to cover the evaſion by a greater complication of circumſtances. Evidence was therefore ſucceſſively required, of the goods having been actually landed, or of the property having been transferred by an actual ſale in America;—of the inſurance being made ſeparately upon the voyages from the colony to America, and from that country to Europe, as upon two entire and independent voyages;—and, finally, of the actual payment of the importation duties in the ports of the United States. Certain illuſory certificates of this laſt circumſtance having been rejected, in our courts of prize, in ſome recent inſtances, formed the ſole occaſion, our author aſſures us, of all the clamour which has been echoed from France and America upon the ſubject of our tyranny over neutrals.

The conſequence of theſe devices has been, that the colonies retained by our enemies have gone on flouriſhing, in a commercial point of view, even more rapidly than in time of peace; while their produce has been tranſported to the moſt advantageous market, under cover of the neutral flag, with a degree of cheapneſs and ſecurity ſuperior to what we can command for our own by means of the unqueſtioned ſupremacy of our maritime power. The fact is, our author aſſures us, that *not a ſingle merchant ſhip* now traverſes the Atlantic under enemies' colours; nay, he adds, that, with the exception of a very inſignificant coaſting

coaſting trade, there is not a ſingle merchant ſhip that enters or clears out of the enemies' ports but under neutral colours; all their immenſe traffic is carried on in the name of Danes, Pruſſians, and Americans; and, except in a few rare caſes, where the neglect or unſkilfulneſs of the agents has expoſed the fallacy to which they are indebted for protection, this hoſtile trade is carried on with leſs riſk of capture, and conſequently, at a lower rate of inſurance, than that which ſails under the imperial flag of England. This ſtatement is juſtified by a long inveſtigation and enumeration of particulars, from which the author ſeems warranted in concluding, that the produce of the enemies' colonies is at this moment brought to Europe more ſecurely, and ſold there for a lower price, than that of our own ſettlements.

In all this diſquiſition, the author has taken it for granted, that a very large proportion of the produce ſo tranſported is really and truly the property of the enemy; and that the appearance of a neutral owner in the ſhip papers, is entirely a fraudulent and fallacious contrivance. In comparing the enormous extent of this factitious neutral trade in the preſent war, with what it ever was on former occaſions, the author makes the following ſtriking obſervations.

'Thoſe who are but ſuperficially acquainted with the ſubject, may perhaps be ready to ſuppoſe, that the frauds which they hear imputed to neutral merchants at this period, are like thoſe which have always prevailed in every maritime war; but the preſent caſe, in its extent and groſſneſs at leaſt, is quite without a precedent.

'Formerly, indeed, neutrals have carried much of the property of our enemies; and great part of what they carried was always oſtenſibly their own; but now, they carry the *whole* of his exports and imports, and allege the *whole* to be neutral. It rarely, if ever, happens, that the property of a ſingle bale of goods, is admitted by the papers to be hoſtile property. We are at war with all thoſe who, next to ourſelves, are the chief commercial nations of the old world; and yet the ocean does not ſuſtain a ſingle keel, ſhips of war excepted, in which we can find any merchandize that is allowed to be legitimate prize.

'France, Spain, Holland, Genoa, and the late Auſtrian Netherlands, and all the colonies and tranſmarine dominions of thoſe powers, do not, collectively, at this hour, poſſeſs a ſingle merchant ſhip, or a merchant, engaged on his own account in exterior commerce; or elſe the neutral flag is now proſtituted, to a degree very far beyond all former example.

'Thoſe who diſpute the latter concluſion, muſt aſk us to believe, that all the once eminent mercantile houſes of the great maritime countries now hoſtile to England, are become mere factors, who buy and ſell on commiſſion, for the mighty, though new-born merchants of Denmark, Pruſſia, and America; for in all the numberleſs ports and territories of our enemies, there is not one man who now openly ſuſtains the charac-

ter of a foreign independent trader, even by a ſingle adventure. Not a pipe of brandy is cleared outwards, nor a hogſhead of ſugar entered inwards, in which any ſubject of thoſe unfortunate realms has an intereſt beyond his commiſſion.

'If the extravagance of this general reſult, did not ſufficiently ſhew the falſehood, in a general view, of the items of pretence which compoſe it, I might further ſatisfy, and perhaps aſtoniſh the reader, by adducing particular examples of the groſs fictions by which the claims of neutral property are commonly ſuſtained in the prize court.

'Merchants who, immediately prior to the laſt war, were ſcarcely known, even in the obſcure ſea-port towns at which they reſided, have ſuddenly ſtarted up as ſole owners of great numbers of ſhips, and ſole proprietors of rich cargoes, which it would have alarmed the wealthieſt merchants of Europe, to hazard at once on the chance of a market, even in peaceable times. A man who, at the breaking out of the war, was a petty ſhoemaker, in a ſmall town of Eaſt Frieſland, had, at one time, a hundred and fifty veſſels, navigating as his property under Pruſſian colours.

'It has been quite a common caſe, to find individuals, who confeſſedly had but recently commenced buſineſs as merchants, and whoſe commercial eſtabliſhments on ſhore were ſo inſignificant, that they ſometimes had not a ſingle clerk in their employment, the claimants of numerous cargoes, each worth many thouſand pounds; and all deſtined, at the ſame time, with the ſame ſpecies of goods, to the ſame precarious markets.

'The cargoes of no leſs than five Eaſt Indiamen, all compoſed of the rich exports of Batavia, together with three of the ſhips, were cotemporary purchaſes, on ſpeculation, of a ſingle houſe at Providence in Rhode Iſland, and were all bound, as aſſerted, to that American port; where, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, no demand for their cargoes exiſted.

'Adventures not leſs gigantic, were the ſubjects of voyages from the colonies of Dutch Guiana, to the neutral ports of Europe; and from the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, to North America. Veſſels were ſent out from the parſimonious northern ports of the latter country, and brought back, in abundance, the dollars and gold ingots of Vera Cruz and La Plata. Single ſhips have been found returning with bullion on board, to the value of from a hundred, to a hundred and fifty thouſand Spaniſh dollars, beſides valuable cargoes of other colonial exports.

'Yet even theſe daring adventurers have been eclipſed. One neutral houſe has boldly contracted for all the merchandize of the Dutch Eaſt India Company at Batavia; amounting in value to no leſs than one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

'But have not, it may be aſked, the means of payment, for all the rich cargoes which have been captured, undergone a judicial inveſtigation? Yes, ſuch ſlender inveſtigation as the prize court (which of neceſſity proceeds on the *ex parte* evidence of the claimants themſelves) has

has power to inſtitute; the effect of which has been, to produce a tribe of ſubſidiary impoſtures, not leſs groſs than the principal frauds which they were adduced to ſupport.' p. 95–99.

He then proceeds to ſupport his propoſition, by ſpecifying a number of caſes, in which the evidence of neutral property, though ſupported and atteſted in ſuch a way as to force a court of law to admit and receive it, was oppoſed by ſuch inſurmountable circumſtances of abſolute incredibility, as to leave no doubt in the mind of any impartial perſon as to its ſubſtantial falſity. He concludes this part of his argument by ſtating, that, even if it were admitted that the whole of this colonial produce were really transferred to neutrals, the gain of the enemy would ſcarcely be leſs ſubſtantial; as the profits of the neutral purchaſers probably would not be more conſiderable than the commiſſion which muſt be paid them, on the other ſuppoſition, for the uſe of their name and flag.

In this way, our author is of opinion, that the indulgence ſhewn to the neutral trade, by relaxing the rule of the war 1756, has deprived us of the natural advantages of our maritime ſuperiority, and enabled the enemy, not only to elude our hoſtility, but to repleniſh his exchequer by a revenue that might be turned, in part at leaſt, into our own coffers; and to carry on a trade, by which our merchants and planters are underſold in the European market. This, however, he aſſures us, is by no means the whole of the miſchief which has reſulted from theſe arrangements; they tend directly to the depreſſion of our maritime power, and the exaltation of the navy of France.

Theſe effects they produce, by the ſeduction of our ſeamen into the American merchant ſervice by the temptation of high wages, and the proſpect of being ſecure from impreſſment, in conſequence of being preſented with letters of naturalization in every port in the country; by the priſoners which are daily made by the enemies' privateers, without any poſſibility of reprizals upon our part; by the command which the French navy obtains of all the ſeafaring men in their dominions in conſequence of the total ſuſpenſion of their commerce; and, finally, by the diſcouragement of our own navy, from the impoſſibility of making captures, and the conſequent ceſſation of theſe privateering expeditions, which formed ſuch a ſchool of naval enterprize, and afforded ſuch an incentive to extraordinary courage and activity.

Such are the evils which our author aſcribes to the interference of the neutral nations in the trade of the enemies' colonies. The remedy our readers will all be prepared to anticipate. We muſt return to the ſalutary and equitable rule of the war 1756, and make prize of all veſſels navigating either to or from the colonial ſettlements of the enemy.

'This remedy,' he obſerves, 'cannot fail to be effectual. There will be no room for fictitious pretences, when the immediate voyage itſelf, in reſpect to the place of departure or deſtination, is a ſufficient cauſe of forfeiture; for the illegal fact muſt be known to every man on board; muſt appear from the papers, unleſs all the public as well as private inſtruments are fictitious; and beſides, would, for the moſt part, be diſcoverable, not only from the place of capture, and the courſe the ſhip is ſteering, but from the nature of the cargo on board.

'The uſe, therefore, of neutral bottoms in the colonial trade, would ſoon be found by our enemies to yield them no protection. They would hoiſt again their own commercial colours; and either reſtore to us all the fair fruits of an unreſiſted naval ſuperiority, or, by ſending out convoys for the protection of their trade, open to us again that ancient field of offenſive war, in which we are ſure to be victorious. Our ſeamen would be enriched, our imports would be very largely increaſed, and every weſtern breeze would waft into the channel, not a neutral ſail or two to furniſh diplomatic ſquabbles and litigation in the Admiralty, but numerous and valuable prizes, and ſometimes entire fleets of merchantmen with their convoys, taken from open enemies and under hoſtile colours. The captive flags of France, Holland, and Spain, would again be inceſſantly ſeen at Plymouth and Spithead drooping below the Britiſh enſigns; and the ſpectacle would recruit for our navy far better than the moſt liberal bounties.

'Then, too, the enemy would be often obliged to hazard his ſquadrons and fleets, for the relief of his colonies, as was uſual in former wars; and the known partiality of Bonaparte to theſe poſſeſſions, eſpecially to the Windward Antilles, would perhaps induce him to incur riſks for their protection, greater than thoſe which their value in a national view might warrant.' p. 14—3.

Next comes the queſtion of right;—and here our author, we cannot help thinking, is too conciſe and dogmatical. He ſays, in the firſt place, that the neutrals themſelves have recognized the whole principle of the rule 1756, by ſubmitting to that modification of it which ſtill reſtrains their intercourſe with the hoſtile colonies. He then refers, in a very triumphant manner, to the following ſhort expoſition of this principle, contained in a judgement of Sir W. Scott at the Admiralty.

"The general rule is, that the neutral has a right to carry on, in time of war, his accuſtomed trade to the utmoſt extent of which that accuſtomed trade is capable. Very different is the caſe of a trade which the neutral has never poſſeſſed, which he holds by no title of uſe and habit in times of peace, and which, in fact, he can obtain in war by no other title than by the ſucceſs of the one belligerent againſt the other, and at the expence of that very belligerent under whoſe ſucceſs he ſets up his title; and ſuch I take to be the colonial trade, generally ſpeaking.

"What is the colonial trade, generally ſpeaking? It is a trade generally

nerally ſhut up to the excluſive uſe of the mother country to which the colony belongs; and this to a double uſe—the one, that of ſupplying a market for the conſumption of native commodities, and the other, of furniſhing to the mother country the peculiar commodities of the colonial regions: to theſe two purpoſes of the mother country, the general policy reſpecting colonies belonging to the ſtates of Europe, has reſtricted them.

"With reſpect to other countries, generally ſpeaking, the colony has no exiſtence. It is poſſible that, indirectly and remotely, ſuch colonies may affect the commerce of other countries. The manufactures of Germany may find their way into Jamaica or Guadaloupe, and the ſugar of Jamaica or Guadaloupe into the interior parts of Germany; but as to any direct communication or advantage reſulting therefrom, Guadaloupe and Jamaica are no more to Germany than if they were ſettlements in the mountains of the moon. To commercial purpoſes they are not in the ſame planet. If they were annihilated, it would make no chaſm in the commercial map of Hamburgh. If Guadaloupe could be ſunk in the ſea by the effect of hoſtility at the beginning of a war, it would be a mighty loſs to France, as Jamaica would be to England, if it could be made the ſubject of a ſimilar act of violence; but ſuch events would find their way into the chronicles of other countries as events of diſintereſted curioſity, and nothing more.

"Upon the interruption of a war, what are the rights of belligerents and neutrals reſpectively, regarding ſuch places? It is an indubitable right of the belligerent to poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch places, as of any other poſſeſſion of his enemy. This is his common right; but he has the certain means of carrying ſuch a right into effect if he has a decided ſuperiority at ſea. Such colonies are dependent for their exiſtence, as colonies, on foreign ſupplies; if they cannot be ſupplied and defended, they muſt fall to the belligerent of courſe; and if the belligerent chooſes to apply his means to ſuch an object, what right has a third party, perfectly neutral, to ſtep in and prevent the execution? No exiſting intereſt of his is affected by it; he can have no right to apply to his own uſe the beneficial conſequences of the mere act of the belligerent, and to ſay, "True it is, you have, by force of arms, forced ſuch places out of the excluſive poſſeſſion of the enemy; but I will ſhare the benefits of the conqueſt, and, by ſharing its benefits, prevent its progreſs. You have, in effect, and by lawful means, turned the enemy out of the poſſeſſion which he had excluſively maintained againſt the whole world, and with which we had never preſumed to interfere; but we will interpoſe to prevent his abſolute ſurrender, by the means of that very opening which the prevalence of your arms alone has effected:—ſupplies ſhall be ſent, and their products ſhall be exported: you have lawfully deſtroyed his monopoly, but you ſhall not be permitted to poſſeſs it yourſelf; we inſiſt to ſhare the fruits of your victories; and your blood and treaſure have been expended, not for your own intereſt, but for the common benefit of others."

"Upon

"Upon these grounds, it cannot be contended to be a right of neutrals to intrude into a commerce which had been uniformly shut against them, and which is now forced open merely by the pressure of war; for when the enemy, under an entire inability to supply his colonies and to export their products, affects to open them to neutrals, it is not his will but his necessity that changes the system: that change is the direct and unavoidable consequence of the compulsion of war; it is a measure, not of French councils, but of British force." p. 13–16.

This reasoning, our author observes, it would be easy to amplify, but very difficult to improve. He declines such an ambitious attempt; and contents himself with making a short and contemptuous answer to certain statements and apologies which, he says, have been made in behalf of the neutrals. He denies that they suffer any loss or inconvenience from the war, in compensation of which, it might be reasonable to let them extend their commerce in certain other directions. He denies that the belligerent could, after the declaration of war, convey his colonial trade into the hands of a neutral, in such a way as to defeat the enemy's right to attack and obstruct it. The moment the sword was drawn, he contends, this trade ceased to be in the full possession or absolute disposal of the belligerent. It became a prize set up within the lists of war, and the seizure or defence of it the chief aim of the combatants. It could not be fairly or effectually withdrawn, therefore, by the intervention of a neutral, any more than a property could be effectually transferred to an accomplice, after it had been fairly brought into a court of law, to abide the claims of two public litigants. Finally, he denies that the temporary indulgences and advantages which neutrals have always been allowed in time of war, afford any precedent for their assumption of the whole colonial trade of a belligerent; both on account of the enormous extent and fatal consequences of the latter pretension, and because the sole motive of the belligerent in inviting them to this trade, is to defeat the operation of legal hostilities, and not from any general view of commercial policy, or regard to the interest of the neutral nations themselves. This transference of the colonial trade is, therefore, properly speaking, a stratagem of war, or hostile manœuvre on the part of the enemy, and cannot be carried into execution by any other nation without forfeiting the true character of neutrality. We shall have occasion, perhaps, to recur to some of these considerations by and by. We sketch them slightly at present, merely to preserve the continuity of our analysis.

The last of our author's speculations relates to the prudence or expediency of applying, at this moment, the just and effectual remedy which he has so warmly recommended in the abstract. The objection he sees clearly enough; and states in plain language.

We

We ſhall exaſperate all the neutral powers by ſuch a proceeding, and may provoke ſome of them to actual hoſtility.

The author contends, againſt thoſe apprehenſions, that if the principle of our conduct be undeniably juſt and equitable, it will command the aſſent of the neutrals themſelves as ſoon as it is properly underſtood; that America, in particular, may ſafely be preſumed extremely unwilling to join her arms with thoſe of France, againſt the only country which now upholds, in the old world, the general intereſts of freedom; that the injury which the neutral commerce could ſuſtain, by engaging in the war, would be incomparably greater than any loſs they could ſuffer from the limitation of their colonial trade; and that, in point of fact, this trade is by no means very advantageous to the great body of the neutral nations; a very large part of it being carried on by temporary ſettlers from the hoſtile country, and the whole being of that precarious and occaſional deſcription, in which it cannot be for the benefit of a new country that much of its capital ſhould be inveſted.

For theſe reaſons, he thinks that war with the neutrals is not likely to follow from the inſtant and reſolute aſſertion of our belligerent rights; but even if it ſhould follow, he is of opinion that the evils of ſuch a warfare would be ſmaller than thoſe which we now ſuffer from their abandonment and evaſion. He laughs at the idea of excluding our manufactures from places where there is a natural and effectual demand for them, by any official prohibitions or enactments; and ſees, in the prudent exerciſe of the prerogative of granting licenſes for direct trade with the enemy, a ready way of getting over the moſt immediate obſtacles to their diffuſion. For theſe reaſons, as well as from the impoſſibility of ſucceſsfully combating, in any other way, a power with whom, he ſays, we cannot make peace with ſecurity, he is of opinion that we are imperiouſly called on to repreſs the encroachment of neutrals, and to aſſert our natural right to haraſs and diſtreſs the colonies of our enemy.

Such is the ſum and ſubſtance of this author's patriotic reaſonings. With all our partialities to his ſide of the argument, there is much in every part of his volume to which we find it impoſſible to give an unqualified aſſent.

The main queſtion here, it is obvious, is the queſtion of *right*. For, though the author has ſpent a great deal of time in proving that we have a ſubſtantial *intereſt* in aſſerting ſuch a right, this is a point which, we humbly conceive, might have been taken for granted, without riſk of contradiction. That it would be for our immediate benefit, and the great annoyance of the enemy, to capture all veſſels engaged in trade with him, or even having the produce

produce of his territories aboard, cannot eaſily admit of doubt. We have an obvious intereſt to deſtroy his whole trade both domeſtic and colonial, and to take to ourſelves every thing that ever was in his poſſeſſion. The only queſtion is, if we have a right to do this.

But though the intereſt we have in the ſuppreſſion of the trade in queſtion is in itſelf ſufficiently obvious, we cannot avoid ſaying that the author's repreſentation of it appears to us to be exaggerated in a very unreaſonable manner; and it was not without ſome degree of indignation that we found him affecting to conſider it as amounting to that extreme and urgent neceſſity which makes a right out of an emergency, and entitles us to ſacrifice the claims of our neighbours to our own immediate preſervation. The commercial diſadvantage which our own colonial trade may ſuffer from the competition of that carried on by the neutrals, is but a branch of the general and inherent diſadvantage which all trade muſt ſuffer, which is the object of direct hoſtility, when placed in competition with that which is exempted from its hazards. The rate of inſurance will neceſſarily be higher upon the ſhips of a belligerent than on thoſe of a neutral; and the want of hands for the navy, as well as the dread of impreſſment, will render it more difficult to man a merchant veſſel in time of war than in time of peace. It is a little extravagant, however, to hold up theſe univerſal conſequences of hoſtility as circumſtances of ſuch urgent danger, as to give us a right to ſuppreſs the neutral trade which is encouraged by their occurrence, or in any degree to help out ſuch a right, if it were otherwiſe queſtionable or defective. The other diſaſtrous conſequences upon which this author inſiſts, are ſtill leſs entitled to conſideration. The ſeduction of our ſeamen into the American merchant ſervice, has no particular reference to their trade with our enemy's colonies. It is an inconvenience to which we ſhall always be liable, while their ſervice is more profitable than ours; and when we can offer better terms than theirs, we ſhall retaliate, it is preſumed, by engaging as many of their ſeamen as we ſhall have occaſion for. The idea of exalting the French naval power, by the total deſtruction and abandonment of her maritime trade, is a great deal too abſurd to require any ſerious confutation.

But though it is impoſſible to liſten to theſe exaggerated views of the motives, which muſt make us wiſh to abridge the enemies' trade with neutrals, it is certain, we have already admitted, that we have a ſtrong and real intereſt in its limitation. It would be very deſirable for us to interdict our enemies from all amicable intercourſe with other nations, and to be permitted to ſeize upon every thing that was imported into, or exported out of their territories.

ritories. With regard to a great part of their trade with neutrals, it is eſtabliſhed, however, and admitted upon all hands, that we can exerciſe no ſuch interference. We cannot annihilate the foreign trade of the reſt of the world, in order to diminiſh the comforts, or cut off the reſources of the nation with which we happen to be at war. The queſtion is, if we can do this with the colonial trade, which we certainly cannot do with the trade carried on with the mother country, and home territory of our enemy?—if we can juſtify the rule of the war 1756 upon theſe general principles of equity and univerſal expediency, which form the baſis of international law?

In proceeding to the conſideration of this important queſtion, we will not diſſemble that we feel ourſelves in ſome meaſure under the influence of certain impreſſions as to the juſtice and policy of capturing merchant ſhips in general, which we have no doubt that the author of this pamphlet and his admirers will conſider as abundantly romantic. In the enlightened policy of modern times, war is not the concern of individuals, but of governments: it is only a more coarſe ſort of diplomacy in which the intereſts of contending nations are entruſted to public functionaries and accredited agents, who meaſure their ſtrength and dexterity in liberal competition, and carry on their operations according to laws and conventions, as perfectly underſtood as thoſe which regulate the ceremonial of courts. It is no longer thought lawful to annoy an enemy indiſcriminately, by every means in our power; nor is it enough to juſtify an act of violence or cruelty, that it has a manifeſt tendency to weaken or intimidate the nation with which we are at war. We have ceaſed to poiſon arms or proviſions; to refuſe quarter; to maſſacre women and children; or to ſack and burn defenceleſs towns and villages. Thoſe who take no part in actual hoſtilities, in ſhort, are now underſtood to be exempted from its terrors, and are not legal objects of attack, except in caſes where the actual combatants are forced to interfere with them by the unavoidable neceſſities of their own ſituation. The private property of pacific and induſtrious individuals, ſeems to be protected by the ſpirit of theſe regulations: and, except in the ſingle caſe of maritime capture, it is ſpared accordingly, by the general uſage of all modern nations. No army now plunders unarmed individuals aſhore, except for the purpoſe of providing for its own ſubſiſtence; and the laws of war are thought to be violated by the ſeizure of private property for the ſake of gain, even within the limits of the hoſtile territory.

It is not eaſy, at firſt ſight, to diſcover why this humane and enlightened policy ſhould ſtill be excluded from the ſcenes of maritime

maritime hoſtility; or why the plunder of induſtrious merchants, which is thought diſgraceful on land, ſhould ſtill be accounted honourable at ſea. If the abſtinence of land forces has been enjoined to them upon principles of mere humanity and juſtice, it is impoſſible to juſtify or to account for this diſtinction: but though men are always apt enough to take credit for theſe honourable motives, we ſuſpect that they form but rarely the ſprings of their public proceedings. Plunder at land, we apprehend, has been prohibited, chiefly, becauſe it endangers the diſcipline of the army to which it is permitted, and incumbers their movements; and becauſe it is for the moſt part impracticable to carry away any conſiderable proportion of the property which is loſt to the original owners. Neither of theſe motives operate at ſea: and the general uſe of maritime inſurance, by throwing the loſſes of individual merchants upon perſons who make a trade of contracting for them, tends both in appearance and in reality, to diminiſh the inhumanity of the procedure, and to convert it into a meaſure of general and national hoſtility.

In ſpite of this palliation, however, we cannot help thinking, that the practice of maritime capture is irreconcileable with the generous and enlightened notions of public hoſtility which were brought to maturity in the courſe of the laſt century, and that it is a ſtain upon that lenient and refined ſyſtem of policy by which the hiſtory of modern Europe is diſtinguiſhed from that of the reſt of the world. That it is for the general intereſt of mankind that war ſhould give as little obſtruction as poſſible to the movements of that great machinery by which their comforts are ſupplied, and their improvement promoted, is a propoſition that is not likely to be conteſted. That it muſt be for the intereſt of the belligerents themſelves, thus mutually to narrow the front which they oppoſe to loſs and ſuffering, can as little admit of diſpute, while they are conſidered as upon a par in all the circumſtances of their ſituation. In ſettling theſe maxims of general expediency, which form what is called the law of nations, all nations are conſidered, however, under this aſpect of perfect equality; and although, in particular caſes, the error of this aſſumption often makes the law infinitely more favourable to one than another, this diſadvantage in the practical reſult, has never been thought ſufficient to relieve either of the parties from the controul of the general regulation. In this caſe, however, it really appears to us that the eſtabliſhment and the maintenance of the general rule would be leſs obſtructed by thoſe actual inequalities in the ſituation of the oppoſite belligerents, than in any other that can be imagined. The very nature of the power to be renounced, ſeems nearly to inſure, in all caſes, an equal benefit

benefit from the ſurrender. The nation which is the moſt powerful at ſea, muſt always be the moſt vulnerable.—Maritime greatneſs is founded upon extended commerce: a great navy can only grow out of a great trade: and if it ſhould ſeem unjuſt that the power which is moſt able to make captures ſhould be reſtrained from its exerciſe, it can only be neceſſary to reflect that it muſt, for this very reaſon, be alſo more liable to capture; and that though it may protect its merchantmen more effectually than its enemy, ſtill, from their greater number, the total amount of its loſſes may be more than equal to the value of its captures from the ſcantier ſtock of its enemy. The power, on the other hand, which has little to loſe in this way, muſt feel that it is proportionally weak in the means, either of defence or annoyance.

The wars which have afflicted Europe for the laſt fifteen years, have not been of a character favourable to the developement of ſuch liberal principles; but we ſtill entertain the hope of ſeeing them univerſally eſtabliſhed; and willingly perſuade ourſelves that there is nothing chimerical in the idea of confining our maritime wars within the ſame limits with thoſe which are waged on land, and completing, all over the civilized world, the diſtinction between an armed enemy and a pacific trader. The only treaty, we believe, in which this principle was mutually guaranteed, was that between Pruſſia and America in 1785. The bitterneſs of the revolutionary wars came too ſoon after, to let the example have its proper effect; yet the direct trade which has ſince been carried on with the enemy, either under the troubleſome and partial protection of royal licenſe, or, in a ſtill more precarious manner, by the connivance of the hoſtile governments, ſerves to demonſtrate the impolicy of a ſyſtem which requires ſo many awkward exceptions, and which ſeems to have produced little to either of the belligerents, but loſſes and complaints from the very commencement of hoſtilities.

With theſe ſentiments as to the policy of capturing the merchant ſhips of an enemy, it may be ſuppoſed that we will not be eaſily ſatisfied as to the juſtice of making prize of the property of neutrals; yet the queſtion diſcuſſed by the author before us, is far from being determined by the principles to which we have juſt been alluding. Thoſe principles can only be brought into action by a regular treaty and convention. One belligerent cannot afford to ſet the example of them to the other; they muſt be ſimultaneouſly adopted by both, or by neither. While France continues, therefore, to capture our merchantmen, we muſt make repriſals upon hers; and while ſhe ſeizes upon the private property of our traders wherever ſhe can find it, we muſt, of neceſſity,

ceſſity, follow her example. While the preſent ſyſtem of maritime warfare continues, no other courſe can be adopted. If it be lawful to ſeize on the property of an enemy in his own ſhips, we apprehend that there can be no good ground for ſaving it from ſeizure becauſe it is in the ſhip of a neutral. The mere contract of affreightment can have no conceivable effect in neutralizing the property to be tranſported; and as the neutral ſuffers no damage if he receive freight and charges from the captors, it does not appear that there is any foundation whatſoever for the claim ſo often made by neutrals, for exempting from capture the acknowledged property of the enemy if found on board their veſſels. There ſeems to us to be nothing in the preſent ſyſtem of international law with regard to maritime captures, that affords any analogy in favour of ſuch an exemption, or that can even be reconciled to the ſuppoſition of its allowance.

It ſtill remains a queſtion, however, whether the ſeizure of neutral veſſels employed in a trade to the colonies of the enemy, or in any other trade that was not open to them in time of peace, be juſtifiable on the principles of the law, or upon thoſe general views of equity which ſerve for its foundation. This queſtion, it appears to us, can only be reſolved by inquiring, *firſt*, whether ſuch captures have been actually recognized as legal by the *eſtabliſhed uſage* of modern Europe; and, *2dly*, whether they can be reconciled to the admitted principles of international law, by a fair inveſtigation of the equity and expediency of the practice.

The firſt branch of inveſtigation will not lead us, we are afraid, to any very ſatisfactory concluſion. The rule of the war 1756 certainly cannot be ſaid to have been recognized as a part of the law of nations by any general or long eſtabliſhed uſage. It has never been aſſerted or ſupported at all, by any nation but Great Britain. It is admitted to have been aſſerted, for the firſt time, in the year 1756; and it is not denied, that, ſince 1763, it has never been aſſerted again in abſolute and unqualified terms. The preſumption, therefore, appears to be againſt its unqualified revival at preſent, in ſo far as the queſtion is to be decided by uſage.

The author before us contends, indeed, that the whole principle is admitted in the qualified reſtrictions that have been, and are ſtill ſubmitted to; and that thoſe who acknowledge the juſtice of what we do now, cannot conſiſtently diſpute our right to do a good deal more. It is plain, however, that the neutral nations have at leaſt as good a right to contend, that the principle is given up by the limitations, as we have to ſay that it remains unimpaired in ſpite of them. A qualified or limited exerciſe of a right is an ordinary conſequence of compromiſing a diſpute about the

right

right itſelf in the abſtract. The neutrals contend that we have no right to exclude them from any part of the enemy's colonial trade: we maintain that we have a right to exclude them from it entirely. The matter is adjuſted in practice, by our allowing them a part of the trade, and by their ſubmitting to be excluded from another part of it. It is evident that this compromiſe does not ſettle the general queſtion of right in favour of either party: on the contrary, it is adopted in order to avoid ſettling it; and if either party ſhall become diſſatisfied with the arrangement, he may certainly return to his original pretenſions, without being charged with inconſiſtency. In common fairneſs, at leaſt, we muſt allow this privilege to our competitors, when we claim it for ourſelves. If we may aſſert our right to ſhut up the whole colonial trade, in ſpite of our long continued permiſſion of a part of it, the neutrals may ſurely aſſert their right to the whole trade, in ſpite of their long acquieſcence in a conſiderable limitation. The practice was founded avowedly upon mutual conceſſions from what the reſpective parties claimed as their rights. If theſe conceſſions are withdrawn upon one ſide, it is to be expected that they will be withdrawn, in like manner, on the other; and the practice cannot be pleaded in favour of either of the rights, as aſſerted without theſe conceſſions.

We cannot cut ſhort the queſtion of right, therefore, in this caſe, by an appeal to eſtabliſhed uſage: the queſtion upon the rule of 1756 is ſtill an open queſtion, under the exiſting ſyſtem of international law; and can only be determined by a fair conſideration of thoſe reaſons of juſtice or expediency, upon the faith of which it has been propoſed to add it to this ſyſtem.

Now, in entering upon this conſideration, we will confeſs, that, in ſpite of the ill name they have in civil wars, and the diſlike manifeſted for them by the author of this publication, we have a great love and affection for neutrals, and are not diſpoſed, for light reaſons, to ſubject them to any material diſcouragement. By their pacific and induſtrious exertions, the diſaſtrous conſequences of extended hoſtility are mitigated and repreſſed, and that great progreſs of civilization and proſperity is maintained, to which war might otherwiſe give ſo fatal an interruption. If their commerce be enlarged during the ſubſiſtence of hoſtilities, it ſhould be remembered that it is enlarged by the demands of thoſe whoſe comforts and enjoyments would be otherwiſe inevitably abridged; and that their profits are derived from ſupplying the demands of thoſe who would be deſtitute but for their interference. Stateſmen and juriſts are too apt, in a commercial age, to forget that the chief benefits of trade are not enjoyed by thoſe who carry it on, but by thoſe who conſume the

commodities which it ſerves to diſtribute. If the produce of the French colonies were to be ſhut up, or to ceaſe to be raiſed, from want of the means of bringing it to market, the ceſſation of the mercantile profit on its tranſportation would be but a ſmall part of the loſs which the world would ſuſtain by the deprivation; and when neutrals interpoſe to carry on this trade, it is but a narrow and imperfect view of the queſtion to look only to their commercial emoluments, and to ſet up againſt them the profits which we might have made by capture, or the advantages we might have obtained by impoveriſhing an enemy. Againſt theſe profits and advantages, we ought to take into account the inconveniences and diſtreſſes, the diminution of comfort and of enjoyment, which the annihilation of this commerce muſt produce among all thoſe who conſume or deal in the commodities which form the ſubject of it. The law of nations is a law which relates to all who can be affected by the acts it permits or prohibits; and it is formed upon an impartial view of the intereſts of the whole. It takes into calculation the relative magnitude of the good that is gained by one, and the evils that muſt conſequently be ſuffered by all the reſt; and according to the reſult of that equation, it promulgates its final decrees. It is not enough, therefore, in a queſtion of this nature, to balance the pretenſions of the belligerents and the *trading* neutral, whoſe rights are immediately under conſideration. The whole neutrals who conſume or deal in the commodity, in every quarter of the world, are entitled to a voice in the deciſion; and the inconveniences and ſufferings of China or Japan, may form an eſſential element in that calculation which is to ſettle the true proportion between the whole good and evil of the oppoſite pretenſions in this very controverſy. We can by no means agree with Sir William Scott, that the inhabitants of Saxony or Ruſſia have no intereſt in the fate of Guadaloupe or Jamaica, except as a ſubject of hiſtory. In an age like the preſent, there is ſcarcely a country on the globe that is not intereſted in the deciſions of that great tribunal which judges of the law of nations; and wherever there is an intereſt, there ought to be a ſuffrage in the deciſion. A true verdict can only be found, in ſuch a queſtion, by a jury *de medietate linguæ*, compoſed of all the civilized nations of the world.

It is upon this general principle, of a balance and comparative eſtimate of the whole good and evil likely to be produced by the meaſure in contemplation, that we think this queſtion muſt be ultimately decided: but, before attempting to apply it to the circumſtances of the preſent caſe, it is neceſſary to conſider the grounds upon which this author and the Engliſh government and courts of prize have defended the rule which it is now propoſed to reeſtabliſh.

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Both parties are agreed in their general definition of the rights and duties of neutrals: But this is merely a new ſource of perplexity, ſince they differ very widely in the meaning they aſſign to the terms of this admitted definition. In point of right, it is agreed, the neutral ſhould ſuffer no prejudice from the war, but ſhould be protected in the enjoyment of every privilege which he poſſeſſed in his intercourſe with either of the belligerents in time of peace, except only when the exerciſe of ſuch privilege would interfere with the ſpecific meaſures of hoſtility actually and immediately purſued by the other belligerent. In point of duty, the neutral ſhould refrain from taking any ſhare in the war, and from giving aid or aſſiſtance to either party, for offence or defence. So far all parties are agreed; but there is matter enough for contention remaining.

The author before us contends, that, by theſe definitions, neutrals are plainly excluded from the colonial trade of a belligerent; they are only to retain in war what they enjoyed in peace; but as they were entirely excluded from this trade in peace, they can have no claim to any ſhare of it in war, upon the footing of mere neutrality. Their rights are ſufficiently reſpected, if they are left during the war in as good a condition as before it began; and they have no cauſe to complain if a belligerent follows out his own hoſtile intereſt, by reſtraining them from uſurping what he has diſabled the enemy from retaining. In point of fact, it is added, that this uſurpation of a new trade tends directly to aid and aſſiſt one of the parties in the war, and to defeat and obſtruct the lawful hoſtilities of the other: it is therefore a clear violation of the duties of neutrality.

We confeſs that we cannot agree with any part of this interpretation. The general principle is, that a neutral ſhall ſuffer no prejudice from the war, but ſhall remain, in point of right, on the ſame footing as if peace had never been violated. Now, it was the right of a neutral, in time of peace, to trade with every country in the world, from the ſovereign or proprietors of which he had received permiſſion, and to be free from all challenge or interruption from any other party. That right and that freedom, however, is utterly deſtroyed in time of war, if a belligerent may interfere with his trade to any quarter of the world over which it has no dominion, and with the ſovereigns of which it is admitted that the rights of the neutral were to remain as free and ample as ever. It was his undoubted right, in time of peace, to treat with every other nation for leave to trade with its colonies; and if this right is loſt by the war, it is in vain to ſay that he has not ſuffered prejudice by that occurrence. It is plain, indeed, that the advocates for the excluſion are ſenſible

of the impoſſibility of maintaining it on the mere want of right in the neutral, when they proceed to contend, that the trade which they wiſh to reſtrain is in ſubſtance an interference in the war, and a breach of the duties of neutrality. If this be the caſe, it ought no doubt to be interdicted upon that footing; but it ought to be clearly underſtood at the ſame time, that this is the ground on which it is objected to; and that all that is wanting for its juſtification, is to ſhew that it does not aſſiſt the one belligerent, nor diſtreſs the other, in ſuch a way as is inconſiſtent with the ſtrict duties of neutrality.

Now, upon this head, we are inclined to hold, that the aſſiſtance or obſtruction to which this deſcription applies, muſt bear a direct reference to the hoſtile efforts of the two belligerents, and that the neutral character will not be violated merely by carrying on trade with one of them, in ſuch a way as to give him a ſhare of its commercial advantages, while the other is obſtructed in nothing but its general deſire to impoveriſh the traders of the enemy. To relieve a place which is blockaded, is a direct interference with a ſpecific act of hoſtility, and tends to defeat a ſcheme of annoyance which is then in the courſe of execution. It is therefore interdicted by the law of nations, as an evident tranſgreſſion of the duties of neutrality. To carry arms or warlike ſtores, in like manner, to a nation whoſe means of attack or defence muſt depend in a great meaſure on the poſſeſſion of ſuch articles, has a direct and immediate effect to alter the fortune of the war, and is nearly as palpable an interference in it, as to give or to lend to one party a ſupply of ſoldiers or ſailors. All traffic with a belligerent, in ſuch articles, has accordingly been prohibited; and the right of ſeizing contraband of war, been recognized from time immemorial. But it has, for as long, been thought lawful for a neutral to trade freely with a belligerent in every other article, and to buy and ſell with him upon terms of mutual profit and advantage; nor has it ever been pretended that this trade was illegal, merely becauſe it was a ſource of emolument to the belligerent as well as to the neutral, and in this way interfered eventually with his enemy's lawful endeavours to bring him to a ſubmiſſion, by cutting off all his reſources and means of revenue. In this point of view, however, it is evident that there is no room for diſtinguiſhing between the colonial trade of a belligerent and any other trade which may be carried on between him and a neutral. The belligerent has a profit by both, and is thus enabled to carry on the war with undiminiſhed reſources, while the enemy's views of impoveriſhment are obſtructed by means of the neutral. It can make no difference to either party, whether the neutral buys wine in the ports of the mother country,

country, or rum in thoſe of her colonies. The aſſiſtance which he gives to one belligerent, and the conſequent obſtruction he occaſions to the views of the other, are the ſame in both caſes; and if the one trade be undoubtedly lawful, it will not be eaſy to ſhew that the other is not.

Theſe are the general principles upon which we are inclined to go to iſſue with the author of this publication. The reaſons upon which they are founded will be better underſtood when we have conſidered more particularly the grounds upon which he has reſted his oppoſite concluſions.

Though the pamphlet is certainly written with great ability, and the author is abundantly perſpicuous in moſt of his particular ſtatements, we will confeſs that we have been at ſome loſs to diſcover the preciſe ground upon which he is diſpoſed to juſtify the rule of the war 1756. He quotes with vehement approbation a paſſage, which we have already given entire, from a judgment of Sir W. Scott, in which, if we do not miſtake, the trade in queſtion is condemned, chiefly as being in the nature of a direct interference with our lawful hoſtilities againſt the enemies' colonies; but while he affects to coincide with the learned judge in this view of the queſtion, it is evident, we think, that our author has himſelf laid but little ſtreſs on that conſideration, and rather ſeems inclined to infer the illegality of the trade from the circumſtances of its being beneficial to the enemy, and not having been open to the neutral in time of peace. Theſe conſiderations, we conceive to be quite ſeparate in their own nature, and to require therefore a diſtinct inveſtigation.

The principle laid down by Sir W. Scott, in the paſſage already quoted, ſeems ſhortly to be this;—The colonies of an enemy are natural objects of hoſtility, and may with certainty be reduced and captured, if ſupplies can be cut off from them: 'If a belligerent, therefore, chooſes to apply his means to this object, no neutral has a right to ſtep in and prevent its execution.' Now this, it is evident, is reſting the argument upon the ſuppoſition of an actual interference with a ſcheme of direct hoſtility;—the plea is, that the neutral has no right to obſtruct a belligerent actually employed in the reduction of his enemies' colonies. The principle cannot be diſputed; but, with all ſubmiſſion to the learned perſon referred to, it does not appear to apply to the fact of the caſe. *

* We hope it is unneceſſary for us to ſay, that in ſpite of the liberty we have here taken with the reaſonings imputed to him, we entertain, in common with all who have ever looked into the record of his deciſions, the moſt unfeigned veneration and reſpect for the penetrating ſagacity, profound judgment, and unblemiſhed integrity of Sir William Scott.

We are *not* now engaged in reducing the colonies of the enemy:—we have *not* 'choſen to apply our means to that object:'—we have no thoughts of taking from the enemy the iſlands of Cuba and St Domingo, or the vaſt continent of South America:—we have never propoſed to poſſeſs ourſelves of thoſe places, nor pretended to blockade or inveſt the other colonies of our enemies. Our complaint is not, that theſe colonies are withheld from us in conſequence of aſſiſtance illegally rendered by neutrals to places in a ſtate of ſiege; we complain, merely, that their produce is withdrawn from our capture, by being ſold to neutrals on the ſpot: and whatever may be the validity of this complaint, it ſeems to be certain, that the reaſons ſaid to have been aſſigned in the Court of Admiralty, are wholly and entirely inapplicable to the admitted circumſtances of the caſe. This ſeems alſo to be the opinion of the author before us; for, though he pronounces a warm eulogium on the doctrine which he quotes from the reports, he has certainly made no attempt to enforce or ſupport it, and reſts his own reaſonings upon a foundation altogether independent. The only paſſage in which he appears to borrow any thing from the argument of Sir W. Scott, is, where he talks of the colonial trade being 'ſet up within the liſts of war,' and ſubject to hoſtility of courſe, by whatever hands it may be carried on. Theſe are metaphorical expreſſions which ſeem to have no preciſe meaning. For our own part, at leaſt, we do not underſtand how any poſſeſſion of the enemy can be ſo ſet within the liſts of war, except by the known and eſtabliſhed courſe of blockade;—that it is liable to be attacked,

Scott. Bound as he ſeems to have conceived himſelf, by the terms of the Royal inſtructions as the rule of his judgment, it was natural for him to ſeek to juſtify to his own mind the principle of thoſe inſtructions; and if they were not capable of being juſtified, it is not wonderful that he ſhould have been miſled. It is to be obſerved, alſo, that there is reaſon for ſuſpecting that our long habit of maritime ſuperiority has produced in this country a very general inſenſibility to the rights of thoſe to whoſe ſituation it never occurs to us that we may be reduced. The ſecure poſſeſſion of power gives a prodigious bias to our moral judgments in every queſtion which relates to its exerciſe. We eaſily ſatisfy ourſelves that we have a right to do all that we have the deſire, the power, and the habit of doing; and can rarely bring ourſelves to take a fair view of thoſe claims which we know cannot be enforced againſt us. There are innumerable inſtances of this dangerous illuſion. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that even the moſt liberal and enlightened of the old Nobleſſe could be made to feel and underſtand the rights and claims of their inferiors; and in our own country, to take a narrower inſtance, it is aſtoniſhing how hard it is to conviuce the common people that there is any ſin in plundering a wreck that is thrown unprotected into their hands.

attacked, certainly affords no reaſon for declaring it unlawful for neutrals to interfere with it.

The author's own reaſonings, however, depend upon a different principle. The enemy is benefited by this trade of neutrals with his colonies; and it is a trade to which the neutral had no acceſs in time of peace. Theſe two circumſtances taken together, are ſufficient, he ſeems to think, to entitle us to repreſs this trade as illegal. We have an intereſt to do ſo, becauſe we ſhall thus haraſs and annoy our enemy; and we are not barred from purſuing this intereſt, becauſe the neutral, after he is interdicted from this trade, will be no worſe than he was in time of peace. The intereſt we have already admitted;—the right, we think, extremely queſtionable. In point of fact, we deny that the neutral, if interdicted from this trade in time of war, would be in as good a ſituation as in time of peace; and, in point of principle, we contend that, even if it were otherwiſe, the nature of the benefit to be gained by us from enforcing this rule, is not ſuch as to entitle us to prevent the neutral from *improving* his condition by rejecting it.

It is perfectly plain, at firſt ſight, that the condition of the neutral, who is prevented from trading to the colonies of a belligerent during war, is incomparably worſe than his ſituation while excluded from that trade during peace. In peace, the colonial proprietor brought his produce to the neutral in his own bottoms, and ſupplied him with as much of it as he choſe to buy, either for his own conſumption, or for exportation. In war, at leaſt in the wars which give occaſion to this queſtion, the colonial proprietor cannot ſend a ſhip to ſea; and the neutral muſt either go for the produce which he has occaſion for, or be entirely deprived of the commodity. It is needleſs to enlarge on a conſideration ſo obvious and important. The products of an enemy's colony may ſometimes be ſuch as to be indiſpenſable to the comfort, or even to the exiſtence of ſome other nation. If the proprietors are prevented by war from exporting them according to their uſual colonial regulations, will it be ſaid that the neutral ſhall be altogether deprived of his neceſſary ſupply, becauſe, truly, he cannot now obtain it, without engaging, himſelf, in a trade which was not open to him in time of peace? It is mere quibbling and mockery to ſay, that, by ſuch a prohibition, he is not put in a worſe ſituation than before; and it would evidently be the height of injuſtice to ſubject him to this grievous diſadvantage, merely that the weaker belligerent might be a little more diſtreſſed in his general commercial ſpeculations. The difference between being excluded by the owner of the colony in time of peace, and by his enemy in time of war, is, that, in the former caſe, the neutral gets the produce as plen-

tifully and cheaply as if he were not excluded; and that, in the latter, he cannot get it at all. If he is entitled, therefore, to be put really and ſubſtantially on the ſame footing as to his trade (that is, his buying and ſelling) to thoſe colonies as before the war, it is evident that he muſt now be allowed to go to thoſe that cannot come to him, and to carry on, in the ports of the colony, that ancient and accuſtomed trade which was formerly tranſacted on the ſhores of his own country.

It has probably been from ſome feeling of the obvious and eſſential equity of ſuch an allowance, that, except in the ſingle caſe of 1756, we have never pretended to interdict the direct trade of a neutral between the colony of an enemy and his own mother country. This exception, though founded upon ſuch obvious equity, our author is pleaſed to conſider as a voluntary and imprudent indulgence; and our readers will recollect, that it is the ſole object of his work to perſuade Government to recal it, and to return to the unqualified prohibition of all neutral intercourſe with our enemies' colonies. The exception, we have ſeen, reſts upon the fair rights of neutrality, and upon thoſe views of obvious and indiſputable equity which are the foundation of the law of nations. It is totally inconſiſtent, at the ſame time, with the general principle advanced by us in the war 1756, and is therefore deciſive of the general queſtion as to the equity of that principle. Even with regard to the carrying trade between hoſtile colonies and the other parts of the world, it does not appear to us that the neutral is fairly dealt with, if he is entirely excluded from it in time of war, by the arms of the oppoſite belligerent. In peace, he was enabled to buy the colonial produce in his own ports for exportation, as well as for manufacture or home conſumption; and it muſt frequently have happened, that the greater part was purchaſed with the former deſtination. If, in time of war, he is not allowed to export this ſame produce, as uſual, from the place of purchaſe, he is plainly in a much worſe ſituation than in time of peace.

Let it be ſuppoſed, however, that the trade about which he is diſputing is in a great meaſure a new trade, and that he is confeſſedly endeavouring to take advantage of the war to enlarge and extend his commercial ſpeculations much farther than he could expect to have done in time of peace, the queſtion ſtill remains, whether this be an illegal attempt, or whether the intereſt we have in oppoſing it be of a nature to juſtify our forcible interference. It will not be denied, that it is in general ſufficiently laudable for a nation to aim at extending its trade; and if the exiſtence of war affords certain facilities in this reſpect to thoſe which remain neutral, it cannot be illegal in them to avail themſelves of them; nor can the belligerents interfere to prevent them, except they can

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ſhew that they are giving partial aid to the enemy, and interfering directly with an exiſting ſcheme of hoſtility. Now, we humbly conceive, that the neutrals, by engaging in the colony trade, are not chargeable with any ſuch interference; and that their acceſſion to it may be juſtified, both by the analogy of other caſes, which are no longer the ſubject of diſpute, and by the general principles to which all ſuch caſes may be referred.

The general principle upon which the author declares againſt the legality of this trade, is, that it tends to enrich the enemy, and that it was not carried on by the neutral in peace. Now, if this be a ſufficient ground of condemnation, it muſt follow that every trade is illegal into which a neutral enters with a belligerent for the firſt time during war; and that it is abſolutely unlawful to throw any part of the traffic formerly carried on by the belligerent into neutral hands. In oppoſition to this maxim, however, it will be eaſy to ſhew, that, upon the breaking out of a war, neutrals have always been permitted to take up many branches of trade that were formerly in the hands of the belligerents, and that their right to carry them on has never been diſputed, upon the ground of the ſecurity or profit derived therefrom to the enemy.

There are a variety of branches of trade in which this muſt occur invariably in every war between two maritime and commercial nations. In the firſt place, there is the trade between the two belligerents themſelves. This, of courſe, in its direct and original ſtate, is altogether deſtroyed and ſuſpended by the war; but if the nations have a mutual and permanent demand for the products of each other's territory, the traffic will infallibly go on as formerly; and the only difference will be, that the trade which was formerly conducted by the ſhips and ſailors of the belligerents, will now fall wholly into the hands of neutrals. This is in all reſpects a new trade to the neutral, and an addition to his former trade, ariſing entirely out of the war. It is productive likewiſe of profit and emolument to the belligerent, and ought therefore to be condemned as unlawful, according to the doctrine of the writer now under conſideration. But this is by no means the only new trade into which neutrals are uniformly admitted without challenge in the courſe of a maritime war: A very conſiderable part of the general trade of the belligerents paſſes naturally into their hands. In time of peace, a maritime nation carries a great part of its exports to the foreign purchaſer, and brings home in its own veſſels a great part of its imports. As ſoon as it engages in war, however, it ceaſes to be profitable for it to do this; the rates of wages and inſurance are neceſſarily raiſed; and even where it maintains the ſuperiority at ſea, the riſk and the expence of tranſportation become conſiderably greater than when the

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ſame commodities are embarked in neutral bottoms. Accordingly, it inevitably happens, that the neutral purchaſer finds it for his advantage to come for thoſe goods which the belligerent uſed formerly to ſend out to him in her own ſhips; and the belligerent finds it more convenient that her imports ſhould be brought into her ports by veſſels not liable to capture. In this way, a large part of the hoſtile commerce is naturally transferred to the hands of neutrals, and that for the very purpoſe of avoiding the riſk of capture by an enemy. It was never pretended, however, we believe, upon any ſide, to condemn this new trade as unlawful. Even in our own ports, it is probable there are now more than double the number of neutral veſſels that found buſineſs there in time of peace; and in thoſe of France and Spain, the number is increaſed tenfold. They there deliver the produce of their own and other foreign countries, and take on board the commodities of the hoſtile territory, to diſtribute in all thoſe markets to which they were formerly carried in a great meaſure by the ſhips of the enemy which they have ſuperſeded. Yet this new war trade between the neutral and the enemy, we do not ſo much as pretend to find fault with, or to denounce as beyond the rights of neutrality.

The new neutral trade with the colonies, we conceive, however, is not to be diſtinguiſhed from this new neutral trade with the home ports of the enemy; and the admitted legality of the one is pretty concluſive, therefore, in favour of the legality of the other alſo. Neutrals were not, perhaps, excluded from the former, during peace, by any poſitive laws or prohibitions; but they were excluded, in point of fact, as effectually, by the diſadvantages of their ſituation, and the natural predilection of the belligerent for his own traders. It is equally certain and undeniable, therefore, as in the caſe of the colonies, that it was a new trade which they acquired in conſequence of the war, and that it is deſtined to revert to the belligerent as ſoon as peace ſhall have removed thoſe diſadvantages which now give the preference to the neutral. Now, as theſe are the very circumſtances which are pleaded upon as grounds for excluding neutrals from the colony trade, it is obvious that the plea is effectually anſwered by reference to this unchallenged new trade with the mother country. It is to no purpoſe to ſay that the innovation here is only in degree, and that the colonial trade is new in kind to the neutral. This is a diſtinction altogether irrelevant to the matter in diſpute. It is a fact as palpable as the transference of her colonial trade, that the whole home trade of France is now gone into the hands of neutrals. By this arrangement ſhe is benefited, and her enemies diſappointed in their hopes of captures and their views of impoveriſhment,

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as effectually at leaſt as by the change in her colonial ſyſtem. If the one be recognized as legal, it does not appear upon what grounds it is poſſible to impeach the other as contrary to the law of nations.

Theſe caſes of the new home trade between neutrals and belligerents, generated by the war, and depending upon it for its continuance, appear to us ſo exactly parallel to that of the colonial trade in queſtion, that it is not neceſſary to purſue the inveſtigation any farther. It is well known, however, that nothing is more common than to relax ſpecial prohibitions in behalf of neutrals, upon the breaking out of a war; and that we ourſelves, whoſe neceſſities in this way cannot be ſuppoſed very urgent, have frequently invited them to a ſhare of our trade, by opening free ports abroad, and reducing duties which had been impoſed to ſecure our monopoly at home. We never heard that the new trade, which was opened to the neutrals by theſe devices, was conſidered in any quarter as illegal, or that any attempt was ever made by our enemies to make prize of the veſſels employed in it.

It thus appears, that there is nothing in the analogy of the law of nations, as fixed by the uniform practice of maritime countries, which can juſtify the condemnation of this war trade between the colonies of a belligerent, and the neutral nations in her neighbourhood. On the contrary, it appears that, in caſes which, in point of principle, can ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed from that before us, the long eſtabliſhed uſage of nations has recognized the legality of ſuch intercourſe, and confirmed the free enjoyment of it as one of the moſt undiſputed privileges of neutrality. A very ſlight conſideration of the equitable principles on which the practice has been founded in thoſe analogous and undiſputed caſes, will ſatisfy us that the concluſion may be extended with perfect confidence to that which is now in diſcuſſion.

The enemy is clearly benefited by the admiſſion of neutrals to the home trade which he carried on himſelf in time of peace; his commerce is relieved from the preſſure of our hoſtilities; he is made, in a great meaſure, independent of our naval ſuperiority; we are diſappointed in our hope of captures, and obſtructed in our lawful endeavours to bring him to terms by cutting off the ſources of his revenue. Why ſhould we not be permitted, therefore, to prevent this interference of the neutrals? why is it that we are obliged to walk quietly on the decks of our cruizers, and ſee thouſands of Danes and Americans buſily employed in a trade which fills the coffers of our enemy, and covering with their flag a commerce, which, but for this interference, would become the prey of our triumphant navy? The anſwer is ſhort and obvious; and it is deciſive, in our apprehenſion, of the whole controverſy.

controverſy. We are reſtrained from annoying our enemy by interfering with this trade, from a regard to the neutrals for whoſe joint profit it is carried on, and whoſe intereſt in its continuance is more conſiderable, and more favoured in the eyes of the great confederation of nations, than our intereſt in its ſuppreſſion. This is the ultimate and true reaſon why a belligerent is not permitted to interrupt that neutral trade with his enemy, by which his hoſtilities are rendered in ſome degree inefficient. The queſtion comes, as we have already intimated it would do, to a balance of advantages and diſadvantages; and the law of nations has decided in favour of the neutral in all the branches of the home trade. We are not aware that there are any circumſtances by which the balance can be affected, or the deciſion varied, in the trade of the colonies.

There is a claſhing of rights here, and a colliſion of intereſts, which can only be adjuſted by balancing and comparing together the total amount of equity and expediency that each may be found to involve. Every independent nation has a natural right to trade with all that chuſe to trade with them, and to repel the pretenſions of any third party to limit this freedom of intercourſe. In purſuance of this right, however, it is not permitted to interfere with the actual hoſtility of a nation at war, nor to obſtruct its endeavours to get the better of its opponent. On the other hand, a nation at war has a natural right to haraſs and diſable the enemy, by cutting off his reſources, and drying up the fountains of his revenue; but, in purſuit of this object, it is not entitled to interrupt the trade, or interfere with the property of a nation unconcerned in the war. Theſe two rights, therefore, reciprocally limit each other; and are apt ſometimes to be ſo placed in oppoſition, as to make it a matter of ſome difficulty to determine which ſhould give way. The principle adopted in practice, which is abundantly favourable to the belligerent, ſeems to be, that, where the trade of the neutral is calculated, directly and immediately, to affect the actual ſtate and depending meaſures of hoſtility, it ſhall be lawful for the belligerent to ſuppreſs it as an illegal interference in the war; but that it ſhall not be challenged, merely becauſe it may happen indirectly to ſtrengthen or ſupport one of the combatants, by recruiting his finances. When a neutral is captured for attempting to enter a blockaded port, it is becauſe his ſucceſs would have an immediate effect in defeating that expenſive and laborious meaſure of hoſtility; and it is thought equitable, in this caſe, to ſacrifice the natural freedom of the neutral, to the temporary, but urgent intereſt of the belligerent. There is no proportion here, between the injury that might be done by allowing

ing the blockade to be broken, and that which is done by depriving the neutral, for the time, of that particular market. In like manner, when a neutral is captured carrying arms or ammunition to a nation at war, it is becauſe the commodity is likely to be employed immediately to the great prejudice of the captors; and becauſe the landing of that one cargo may often be deciſive of the fortunes of a whole campaign. In this caſe alſo, the intereſt of the belligerent is very direct and urgent; and the injury which he is likely to ſuffer, by allowing the neutral to proceed, is infinitely greater than can be ſuſtained by interdicting the neutral, for the time, from this very limited branch of traffic.

The caſe is otherwiſe, however, when a neutral is found trading for ordinary commodities to the ports of a nation at war; ſupplying them with cloth or ſugar, or carrying away their rum, hardware, or wines. In this caſe it is decided, (at leaſt in the home trade), that the belligerent has no right to interfere with this trade, nor to capture the veſſels employed in it; and indeed it is obvious, that the injury done to the neutral by ſtopping it, would be out of all proportion greater than that which the belligerent can ſuffer by allowing it to go on. The only injury which the belligerent can be ſaid to ſuffer from it is, that it ſerves to maintain the general internal proſperity of the enemy's country, and enables him to carry on the war with more vigour, by accumulating more riches in the hands of individuals as the ſubjects of taxation. How remote and feeble this intereſt is, with a view to the inſtant and depending meaſures of hoſtility, it is needleſs to point out. No one act of buying or ſelling in ſuch a trade, can have the leaſt effect on the fortunes of a campaign, or even of a ſingle ſkirmiſh; and the aggregated reſult of the whole, promiſes only to influence the war through the medium of a diſtant futurity, to which it may not be protracted, and through a ſeries of internal changes, no part of which comes within the common range of public hoſtility. On the other hand, if the trade is to be interdicted, the moſt valuable products, perhaps of a whole quarter of the world, are to be locked up from the uſe and enjoyment of mankind, and innumerable multitudes to be deprived of conveniences and comforts to which they have been long habituated: a great range of neutral nations is not only to ſuffer, for an indefinite time, this general privation of enjoyment, but to be excluded from the profits of a trade, which is loſt to the world by this meaſure of ſeverity, and in which, perhaps, a large portion of their capital was formerly inveſted; and all this loſs is to be ſuſtained by mankind, without any equivalent or correſponding gain. It is to be ſuſtained by nations who have no concern

concern in the quarrel, in order that one of the combatants may be eventually hampered in his financial operations; and that the other may keep up the ſpirits of his ſailors by occaſional captures, and indulge his commercial jealouſy, under the pretext of following out a legitimate warfare. In balancing together the good and the evil to be produced by this reſtriction, the common ſenſe and common equity of mankind has decided, without heſitation, againſt its adoption; and the trade of neutrals with belligerents has been declared free by the law of nations.

Almoſt the whole of thoſe general conſiderations apply to the trade of the colonies as well as to that of the mother country. The general loſs to mankind by its ſuppreſſion would be the ſame, and the remoteneſs and uncertainty of the benefit to the oppoſite belligerent. If it be ſaid that the commercial loſs to the neutral is not now to be reckoned on, becauſe he was already excluded from this trade during peace, we have already ſhewn, that this excluſion was infinitely leſs ſevere than that which it is propoſed to ſubſtitute in time of war;—that it was, in fact, an excluſion only from the *firſt carrying* of the colonial produce, while what is properly called the trade in it was left free, and a plentiful ſupply furniſhed both for conſumption and for exportation, to all the neutrals in the world. A merchant in Philadelphia might then order as many cargoes of coffee, or cotton, or ſugar, as he thought proper, from the French or Spaniſh ſettlements, and might export or diſpoſe of them in any way he found advantageous: the only reſtriction was, that they muſt be firſt brought to Philadelphia in a Spaniſh or French veſſel. By the war, however, all Spaniſh and French veſſels are abſolutely and entirely confined to their ports; and if the American is not permitted to go for his coffee and cotton, he muſt want it altogether, or, at any rate, obtain it precariouſly at an enormous advance of price. Is it poſſible to maintain, therefore, that he loſes nothing by the war, or that he would be no more excluded at preſent by the rule 1756 than he was by the monopoly of the mother country in time of peace? The fact is, that a very conſiderable trade was always carried on by the Americans in diſtributing, to the northern nations eſpecially, the products of the Spaniſh and French colonies; and from this trade they will be entirely excluded, if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe that the rule of 1756 ſhould ever again be enforced.

But even if the whole trade to which this controverſy relates, were to be conſidered as a new trade, and a free addition to the former commerce of the neutral, ſtill, it may be aſked, if he ſuffers no injury by being reſtrained by a third party from entering upon the beneficial traffic that is held out to him by its proprietors? Is it no misfortune

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to a nation, or to mankind at large, that the means of improvement are cut off, and a people ſtruggling for advancement forcibly withheld in their career of proſperity? Has America no right to complain, if ſhe is prevented from engaging in a trade by which her capital would be accumulated, her waſtes cultivated, and her population increaſed? As an independent ſtate, ſhe has a right to enter into any trade, whether new or old, that is not in itſelf illegal upon the principles of the law of nations. *We* have nothing to do with the circumſtances or motives which induced another country to open its ports to her;—before we can interfere, we muſt be able to ſhew, that the trade is, in itſelf, a violation of the duties of neutrality, and that it ought to be repreſſed as inflicting upon us a greater and more immediate injury than the neutral can ſuffer by its ſuppreſſion. If we can ſhew this, we ſhall be entitled to proſcribe the trade, whether it be anciently or newly eſtabliſhed. If we cannot ſhew this, we cannot interfere with it, without tranſgreſſing the law of nations, and violating the rights of neutrality. In point of influence on the war, however, the colonial trade is exactly on the footing of the home trade of the enemy; as to which no queſtion is ſtirred. It is only diſtinguiſhed from it by its novelty; and this, we contend, for the reaſons now given, is a conſideration altogether foreign to the argument. If it were not, it is decided by the caſe of the new home trade of the enemy, which is parallel at all points to that which we would interdict in his colonies.

Upon the whole, then, we conceive that the rule of the war 1756 is not agreeable to the analogy of any rule univerſally received as part of the law of nations, or to thoſe views of general expediency and juſtice in which this law has its foundation; and that its unqualified revival at this moment would be a meaſure of which the neutral nations would be fairly entitled to complain.

After ſpending ſo much time in the diſcuſſion of the queſtion of *right*, we can afford but a few words on the probable *efficacy* or *prudence* of the meaſure ſuggeſted by this author.

As to the efficacy of the meaſure, the aſſertion of the rule 1756 would probably have the effect of multiplying for a while our captures in the Weſtern ſea, and of raiſing the price of the colonial produce all over the world. We do not conceive, however, that it would ultimately take the trade out of the hands of the neutrals, or even materially diminiſh their profits in the conduct of it. Our author will ſcarcely ſuppoſe that the rich products of thoſe colonies ſhould continue to be abſolutely locked up, and allowed to rot where they are raiſed. The enemy, however, cannot export them; and, therefore, they muſt be taken off by neutrals. Although liable to be captured when detected in the direct voyage to and from the colony,

colony, there muſt evidently be leſs riſk to a neutral than to an enemy in venturing that voyage. The Weſt India iſlands lie ſo near the American coaſt, that, except at the very extremities of the voyage, it would be eaſy for a trader of that country to conceal his real deſtination, while a Frenchman would be liable to capture during the whole run. The trade, therefore, will remain in the hands of the neutrals;—they will receive their neutralizing commiſſion as regularly as before; and the colonial owners will inſure in London, and pay themſelves out of the pockets of the conſumers and of our own underwriters, for the occaſional loſſes ſuſtained by our cruiſers and privateers.

The author before us demonſtrates, by his own ſtatements, how inventive and ingenious men become in the pretexts and devices by which they are to evade the hazards of a gainful undertaking; and has ſtated, in very ſtrong language, the hopeleſsneſs of any attempt to ſuppreſs or alter that channel of commerce which is naturally pointed out by the wants and habits of mankind. Speaking of the commercial inconveniences which might ariſe from a war with the neutrals, he ſays,

'It is aſked, "who would afterwards carry our manufactures to market?" I anſwer, our allies, our fellow ſubjects, our old and new enemies themſelves. In the laſt war, nothing prevented the ſupplying of Spaniſh America with Britiſh manufactures, in Britiſh bottoms, even when they were liable to confiſcation by both the belligerent parties for the act, but that the field of commerce was preoccupied, and the markets glutted by the importations under neutral flags.

"But would I adviſe a toleration of theſe new modes of relieving the hoſtile colonies?" Its toleration would not be neceſſary. Even your own hoſtilities would not be able to overcome the expanſive force of your own commerce, when delivered from the unnatural and ruinous competition of its preſent privileged enemies. You might often capture the carriers of it, and condemn their cargoes; but the effect would chiefly be, to raiſe the price upon the enemy, and the difference would go into the purſes of your ſeamen. The prize goods themſelves, would find their way from your colonies into the hoſtile territories.' p. 205–6.

And, again, after ridiculing the notion, that commodities actually conſumed in a commercial country can ever be effectually excluded from it; he concludes,

'For all this, I might have more briefly appealed to the firſt principles of commercial ſcience. I might have appealed even to the impotent attempts of France in the laſt and preſent war. I might further ſupport myſelf by the fact, that in the utmoſt latitude given to neutral commerce in the colonies of Spain, there was an expreſs and anxious exception of Britiſh merchandize, which was almoſt wholly without effect. But the intelligent reader will diſpenſe with all ſuch arguments.

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He may not, indeed, be able to foreſee clearly what will be the new channels of our trade, when the old are forcibly obſtructed; but he can look down on the level below, the regions of the exiſting demand and conſumption, and be certain that there the ſtream will ſoon meet his eye again, in ſpite of the new artificial mounds and embankments.' p. 210.

We do not know that we could have found any where an argument more concluſive againſt the ſuppoſed efficacy of the rule 1756, in deſtroying the colonial trade of the enemy.

With regard to the prudence of the meaſure, we humbly conceive, that in ſpite of all that our author has ſaid upon the ſubject, very little doubt can be entertained with regard to it. It is not pleaſant to be obliged to compromiſe our juſt rights from a cautious calculation of conſequences, or to abſtain from an effectual remedy, on account of the dangers of obtaining it. Such, however, is the conduct which is occaſionally preſcribed to all nations in the different conjunctures of political relations; and ſuch is the conduct which we think would be preſcribed to this country, even if ſhe were perfectly ſatisfied with the reaſonings of this author as to the efficacy of the remedy he recommends, and as to her own right to make uſe of it. It is a conſolation to us, however, that we have been able to perſuade ourſelves at leaſt, that the courſe of conduct from which we are debarred at any rate by our political ſituation, is one which we could not juſtly adopt if it were free to us, and one from which no very beneficial conſequences could be expected if it were to be adopted.

Our limits will no longer permit us to enter into the grounds of the very decided opinion which we have formed as to the imprudence of provoking the hoſtility of the few neutrals that are now left around us, by the unqualified aſſertion of the rule 1756. They will be eaſily anticipated by any one who attends to the ſubject; and are not at all obviated, or indeed diſtinctly noticed by the author before us, in what he has written on this branch of the argument. There is one point, however, upon which we entirely agree with him; and it is one of a very conſolatary nature, in the preſent unſettled ſtate of our commercial relations. A war with America would be fully more unfavourable for that country than for this; and we have therefore every reaſonable ground for hoping that our differences will be amicably adjuſted, and that both parties will be willing to recede a little from their pretenſions, rather than recur to a meaſure which can be beneficial only to our great enemy.

Although the views which we have been led to take of the general privileges of the neutral traffic, have forced us to condemn

the whole principle of the rule 1756, and to conclude in favour of an unlimited trade with the colonies of the enemy, we are by no means prepared to ſay, that, in practice, there ſhould be no limitation. The facts and caſes detailed by the author before us, have ſatisfied us completely, that a great part of the produce exported from thoſe ſettlements is truly the property of the enemy, and is carried to market, under a falſe neutral name, on their account. This property is, therefore, a fair object of hoſtility; and we are not only entitled to inquire very narrowly into the evidence of neutrality by which it is guarded, but alſo, as it appears to us, to proceed in many caſes upon the general preſumption ariſing from the nature of the voyage undertaken. The direct trade, for inſtance, between the colony and the mother country to which it belongs—that trade which comes in place of the ſupplies and remittances interchanged in time of peace between the proprietors and their agents or factors—can ſcarcely be preſumed to be converted all at once into a genuine neutral trade of foreign adventurers buying and ſelling upon the mere chance of a market; and in a department where it ſeems impoſſible to diſpute that a great deal of ſimulation and fraud is admitted, no great injuſtice will be done, probably, by diſallowing one whole claſs of tranſactions that ſtand in other reſpects in a very ſuſpicious predicament. In this view of the matter, indeed, we do not ſee that the neutrals would have any cauſe to complain, although the ſubſiſting inſtructions ſhould be retained, and their commerce with the hoſtile colonies reſtricted to the direct trade with their reſpective mother countries. It is an argument of ſome weight, that, in the moſt favourable times of peace, all the produce of theſe colonies which they exported, were firſt landed in their own territories; and conſidering the vaſt amount of the hoſtile trade which they unqueſtionably carry on under falſe and fraudulent pretences, it is probably no more than a fair compenſation to limit their neutral traffic, a little more than might be juſtifiable upon ſtrict principle in the caſe of unſuſpected perſons.

With regard to the forgery and perjury of which our author complains in terms of ſuch vehement lamentation, we are afraid that, upon our preſent ſyſtem of proceeding, there is no proſpect of an immediate remedy. Falſe witneſs, we fear, will always be produced in requiſite quantities, whenever there is an effectual demand for it and the profits are conſiderably higher than the temporal riſks of the delinquent. A few trials for perjury might perhaps quicken the conſciences of witneſſes in our courts of prize: and, at all events, we do not ſee why thoſe enlightened tribunals ſhould not take upon them to decide according to their own conviction of the truth, rather than according to depoſitions which

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are ſaid to be univerſally diſbelieved, and thus give a check to practices which will certainly be continued as long as they are found to be effectual.

ART. II. *Travels in Europe, Aſia Minor, and Arabia.* By J. Griffiths, M.D. Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, and of ſeveral Foreign Literary Societies. 4to. pp. 396. London, 1805.

THE extreme partiality of our countrymen for travelling, is a ſubject which has often excited the ſurpriſe of foreigners. It would not be eaſy, perhaps, to explain the cauſes of this propenſity; but there can be little doubt of the fact, that it exiſts among the Engliſh in a greater degree than among any other people. At the cloſe of every term, our univerſities ſend forth their raw productions to be exported in abundance to the Continent; and no ſooner is the ſeaſon of faſhionable gayety concluded in London, than the roads are covered with *touriſts* and *travellers*, who iſſue from the metropolis in every direction. Some, who are contented with the humbleſt portion of itinerary fame, record their delights and their dangers in an excurſion to the Iſle of Wight, or to the mountains of Wales: others, better directed, or more courageous, explore the wilds of our beloved Scotland, and riſk their ſafety on the ſhores of the Hebrides; while others, ſtill more ambitious, croſs the tempeſtuous channel, truſt their perſons to Hibernian poſt-chaiſes, and wade for pleaſure, or for glory, through the bogs of Ireland. Such are the uſual expeditions of our ſummer travellers; but we want not for numbers who have viſited the principal countries of the European continent, and who have related whatever they ſaw or heard, with ſo much variety of ſtyle, and with ſo much minuteneſs of detail, that they have ſcarcely left any thing new, to be either ſaid or ſung, from Peterſburgh to Naples. Many have extended their reſearches to the remoteſt quarters of the globe; and if the renown of travellers were to be meaſured out according to the number of miles which they have trodden, we could juſtly boaſt of ſome who would be entitled to an extraordinary portion of reputation. It is to be obſerved, however, that ſince the cuſtom of travelling over vaſt tracts of land has become more common, ingenious men have fallen upon various ingenious devices to attract the attention of the public to their own perigrinations. One gentleman has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by having *walked* over a conſiderable portion of the habitable

globe; another ſtill boaſts, that he advanced one verſt farther into the deſerts of Siberia, than has yet been achieved by any other traveller; a third excited ſome curioſity in one of the hotteſt countries of Europe, by the aid of a curious device on his card, which announced, that he had juſt arrived from the borders of the frozen ocean; and a fourth with matchleſs rigidity of fibre, and heroic diſregard of inconvenience, actually made the *grand tour* without once leaning back in his carriage during the whole journey. When travellers chooſe to publiſh, however, we cannot, in honeſty, encourage them to hope that ſuch expedients as theſe will avail them much. He who firſt points out any thing remarkable or characteriſtic, in the laws, manners, and opinions, even of a barbarous nation, not only adds to our ſtock of general information, but gives us views of human nature, in ſituations in which we have not been accuſtomed to conſider it. Should he deſcribe men in civilized life, and inſtruct us in the proficiency of another country in the arts and ſciences, in commerce and manufactures, we ought to thank him for, at leaſt, collecting materials for the philoſopher, the hiſtorian, and the political economiſt. If he make important additions to our knowledge in natural hiſtory, or correct material errors in our geography, or confirm by practical proofs the concluſions of ſcience, his claims to notice will be readily allowed. Finally, the ſcholar and the antiquary will not refuſe their tribute of applauſe to him who brings freſh and accurate tidings from thoſe regions which the claſſical genius of antiquity has rendered ſo intereſting to men of taſte and literature. But when a traveller excites attention in none of theſe ways, it will avail him little, that he has croſſed the burning deſerts of Syria and Arabia during the dog-days; that he points out the courſe of his extenſive wanderings by the help of a zig-zag line which traverſes half the map of the world; or that he preſents to readers, who never heard of him before, a ſmart portrait of himſelf, prefixed to a quarto volume.

Dr Griffiths, the author of the volume before us, relates in it the hiſtory of his travels from England to Italy, thence to Conſtantinople, thence to Smyrna, thence to Aleppo, and, finally, acroſs the deſert to Baſſorah. Before we follow him in this extenſive career, we muſt ſtop to take notice of ſome information which he gives us in his preface. 'In the rapidity of purſuit,' ſays he, 'I fear I have frequently overlooked thoſe proofs which might have thrown a new and important light on ſubjects already treated of, with more or leſs accuracy, by literary pens; and from a neceſſitated adoption of the means and opportunities of proceeding towards the places of my deſtination,

I have as frequently been compelled to abandon, prematurely and unexamined, even thoſe objects which had not eſcaped my notice.' This language cannot be conſidered as very encouraging to thoſe who might hope for much accuracy from Dr Griffiths. 'Let me be allowed to ſtate,' he ſays, 'that I travelled through great part of the Ottomaun dominions in the humble diſguiſe of a poor Greek; not under the protection of janiſſaries, the influence of ambaſſadors, or the authority of a Firmaun.' It is obvious, however, that this very circumſtance might have enabled him to acquire conſiderable knowledge of the Turkiſh character, although in a manner ſufficiently diſagreeable; and it was, accordingly, chiefly in his diſguiſe of a Greek ſlave, that Dr Griffiths collected the additional information concerning Turkey, which we have obtained from the peruſal of his book.

The author informs us, that he embarked at Graveſend in June 1785 for the Mediterranean. He relates various circumſtances which took place during this voyage, and which, conſidering the ſubſequent adventures of his life, it may be creditable to his memory that he has not forgotten, though it be not quite ſo much ſo to his judgment that he has choſen to record. He tells us with ſomething of unneceſſary minuteneſs, of the altercations which took place between the captain and the pilots; how he croſſed the Bay of Biſcay, 'where watery mountains precluded all hopes of tranquillity;' how, 'within the dividing ſhores of Europe and Africa, he amuſed himſelf with fiſhing for *bonito;*' and how, 'when ſucceſsful, he feaſted upon his prize; prudently pickling or ſalting ſuch parts as were judged to be worth preſerving.' Some readers may not think, that this learned traveller has added much to their ſtock of knowledge, when he proceeds to tell them, that, in the iſland of Alboran, he found birds' neſts with eggs in them.

After an agreeable paſſage of three weeks, our traveller landed at Nice.

As he had warned us, in his preface, that he meant to confine his remarks on Italy to a few pages, we muſt not complain of his brevity on that ſubject. He rejoined his veſſel at Leghorn, and ſet ſail for Smyrna. The magnificent objects which preſented themſelves to his view, as he paſſed on to the Faro of Meſſina, naturally made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of our traveller; and we can ſcarcely wonder, that, in deſcribing ſo delightful a proſpect, he ſhould have permitted his proſe to run a little wild. 'The *bluff* ſhore of Italy,' ſays he, 'againſt which we ſeemed to proceed, uniting, as it were, to the *bluffer* promontory at the entrance of the Faro, obliterated all trace of its opening, until a near approach gradually expoſed to our inquiring eyes the lovely paſſage ſo often mentioned by the claſſic poets.'

We do not find much novelty in the account which Dr Griffiths has given of Smyrna. From that city he took his departure in a Turkiſh boat for Conſtantinople. A gale of wind coming on compelled him to land near Temnos, where he had the opportunity of witneſſing the funeral of a Muſſulmaun. One part of the ceremony was ſingular enough. As ſoon as the grave was filled up, each friend planted a ſprig of cypreſs on the right, and another on the left hand of the deceaſed. It was underſtood, it ſeems, that ſhould the ſprigs on the right hand grow, the deceaſed would enjoy the happineſs promiſed by Mahomet to all true believers; but ſhould thoſe on the oppoſite ſide flouriſh, he would for ever be excluded from taſting bliſs in the arms of the *Houris*. If both ſucceeded, he would be greatly favoured in the next world; and if both failed, he would be tormented by black angels, until he ſhould be reſcued from them by the mediation of the Prophet. 'Theſe opinions of a ruſtic,' ſays Dr Griffiths, 'are not mentioned as thoſe which generally prevail amongſt Muſſulmauns, but merely to ſhow, that vulgar and local prejudices are not confined to the ignorant and ſuperſtitious of any particular country. Similar effects have been produced in all, by the fears, apprehenſions, and confuſed notions which have been entertained of a future life.'

To ſay any thing new in a deſcription of Conſtantinople, would not now be eaſy; and after ſo many able pens have been employed on the ſubject, it might even be difficult to ſay any thing well. Dr Griffiths, however, has not been deterred by theſe conſiderations, from indulging his deſire of retracing 'the various objects which preſented themſelves to his enchanted ſight.' We give him credit for the general accuracy of his account, and agree with him in ſuſpecting the truth of the deſcriptions which have been ſometimes given with ſo much confidence of the interior of the Seraglio. Speaking of the frequent fires which take place at Conſtantinople, he remarks, that the Sultaun is expected to attend, and that he is then expoſed to hear various truths which could not eaſily come to his knowledge without ſuch opportunities. Our traveller further obſerves, 'that fires have frequently their origin in the political diſputes of parties, or the hopes of redreſs in caſes of peculiar grievance.' It gives us no very elevated notion of Turkiſh wiſdom to learn, that when any body at Conſtantinople is diſcontented with the government, he ſeeks redreſs by burning down his houſe about his ears.

Amongſt the officers of artillery, Dr Griffiths was introduced to the Ghumbaragee Baſhee, whoſe aſſumed name was Muſtaphah, but who, we are delighted to find, was originally a Scotch gentleman of the name of Campbell. He had been obliged, from ſome

ſome unfortunate circumſtances, to quit his native country, had entered into the Turkiſh ſervice, and had abjured the faith of his fathers. 'Let me not, however,' ſays Dr Griffiths, 'attract the attention of my readers to his errors; let me rather dwell upon the amiableneſs of his diſpoſition, the urbanity of his manners, and the various accompliſhments of his well-informed mind.' It was in the ſociety of this gentleman, that our author was preſent, when ſeveral officers of ſtate were convened to examine a beautiful manuſcript copy of the Koran, which General Morriſon had brought from India to preſent to the Sultaun. After the moſt enthuſiaſtic encomiums had been beſtowed upon the manuſcript, an old Emeer claſped his hands in a ſort of agony, and exclaimed, 'Alas! Alas! how unfortunate! This magnificent copy of the never-to-be-ſufficiently admired law of our ſacred Prophet is not orthodox—it is the work of a Secretary of Ali!' This diſtreſſing circumſtance, as might be ſuppoſed, filled the whole aſſembly with regret and conſternation.

We ſhall not enumerate the various topics which have been diſcuſſed by our author with reſpect to the cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants of Conſtantinople. They are very nearly the ſame as they were, when they were deſcribed by Sandys two hundred years ago. There may be ſomething leſs of pride, and ſomething more of civilization; but a Turk is ſtill a Turk.

Mr Griffiths profeſſes to treat, in the ninth chapter of his work, of the commerce of the Turks, and of the political ſituation of the Greeks. Theſe ſubjects required ſeparate chapters; and would have had them, we ſuppoſe, if the materials of the author had not been quite ſo ſcanty. He obſerves, that a duty of three *per cent.* is exacted from foreigners at Smyrna, whilſt the natives, a few articles only excepted, pay ten *per cent.* He juſtly remarks, that this cuſtom is in direct oppoſition to that eſtabliſhed in enlightened nations. He might have added, that, as it had its origin in a total ignorance of the nature and value of commerce, ſo it has been continued, entirely through the imbecility of the Turkiſh government. That government, we believe, has made ſome efforts to alter the *tariffs* at the different *ſcales*, and has even remonſtrated with ſome other courts on the ſubject. We have been informed, however, that the new regulations are as little favourable to the natives as the ancient ones. The author's obſervations on the political ſituation of the Greeks are ſufficiently meagre, and are contained in a couple of pages; yet this is a vaſt field for inquiry and ſpeculation. 'France,' ſays Mr Griffiths, 'evidently means to extend her influence to the Morea, and, from the accompliſhment of ſo grand an object, will raiſe up an enemy to our commercial connexions in the

Levant; the baneful influence of which can be counteracted only by our preſerving the ſtricteſt amity with the imperial courts of Vienna and St Peterſburgh.' This is amuſing. Is the raiſing up an enemy to our commercial connexions in the Levant, the greateſt evil which we ſhould have to dread from the ſubjugation of Greece by France? What are our annual profits from thoſe connexions? Have certain monopoliſts ever been able to ſhew that our whole trade in the Levant amounts in value to one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum?* or, will they deny that their monopoly coſts government annually a ſum of five thouſand pounds? Would the deſtruction of this trade then be of ſuch importance to France; or would it be ſo detrimental to us, as to induce us to deſire, as the author ſeems to do, that Ruſſia ſhould take poſſeſſion of the city of Conſtantinople? We think that the poſſeſſion of the Morea would, indeed, be a grand object for France; and that the acquieſcence of this country in the ſeizure of Conſtantinople by the Ruſſians, might, in ſuch a caſe, admit of conſideration; but ſurely it will never be for the ſake of our trade in the Levant, that our ſtateſmen will dread the one event as ſuch an evil, as to require ſuch a remedy as the other. Bonaparte, by having obtained poſſeſſion of Iſtria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian iſles, as it appears he has done by the treaty of Preſburgh, ſufficiently manifeſts his deſigns upon Albania and the Morea. It is to be hoped that thoſe who have it in their power to take meaſures with other Courts to fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, will be fully aware of the importance of theſe acceſſions to the ambitious projects of France. They will recollect the vaſt extent of coaſt which will be thus obtained for the enemies of our maritime greatneſs; the ports, the foreſts, the ſmall ſhipping, the numerous ſeamen, which will be thus acquired by our enemy; the new ſubjects, who will be ready to flock to the ſtandard of Bonaparte from every province of European Turkey; the advantageous poſitions, whence that daring and reſtleſs ſpirit will be thus enabled to direct freſh attacks againſt the debilitated remains of the Ottoman empire. Should the maſter of France and Italy add Albania and the Morea to his dominions, already extending to Catarro, what power can reſiſt him if he chuſe to march to Conſtantinople? The conqueſt of Egypt will be likewiſe facilitated by the ſubjugation of Greece; and ſooner or later, perhaps, India herſelf might have to trace her deſtiny to the overthrow of the Ottoman empire by the arms of this inſatiable conqueror.

The account which Dr Griffiths has given of the religion and religious cuſtoms of the Turks, does not contain much novelty. It will, however, appear curious to thoſe who have not ſeen the work

work of M. D'Ohgſon. Dr Griffiths thinks that the Turks entertain the moſt ſublime ideas of the Deity as well as ourſelves. It is certainly true that they ſpeak in elevated language of the attributes of God; and that they inſiſt upon his unity, with a zeal that would indicate their very erroneous conviction of this doctrine being peculiar to their own religion. Juſt ſuſpicions, however, may be entertained, whether any very exalted notions of the divine perfection can be entertained by men, who ſeriouſly believe the Koran to be 'the uncreated word of God.' Nothing leſs than the groſſeſt ſuperſtition could induce rational creatures to attribute ſuch a *farrago* of abſurdities, ſo many extravagant fancies, and ſo many goſſiping ſtories, to the inſpiration of the Supreme Mind.

We did not expect from our traveller any very minute account of the differences which exiſt among the Mahometans upon religious topics. Their diſputes about free-will and predeſtination, (for this eternal queſtion is frequently, though ſecretly, debated among them), their interpretations of the Koran, and their various verſions of it, can have little intereſt for readers, to whom it is of no conſequence to determine, whether the doctrines of the ſect of Ali be more or leſs orthodox, or more or leſs abſurd, than thoſe of the ſect of Omar. We could have wiſhed, however, that Dr Griffiths had endeavoured to collect ſome information concerning that new ſect which has lately become ſo formidable in the Eaſt, ſince the innovations of the Wahabees may be attended with conſequences not leſs fatal to the political than to the religious eſtabliſhments of the Turks. Their ſect had been in exiſtence many years before the arrival of our traveller at Conſtantinople; and we can hardly ſuppoſe him to have been ignorant of this circumſtance. By the aſſiſtance of a friend who has been in the Eaſt, we are enabled to give the following ſtatement, which may be found intereſting, and which may tend, in ſome degree, to ſupply the deficiency which we have juſt had occaſion to remark in the volume before us.

It is now more than half a century, ſince Abdul Wahab began to promulgate a new creed in Arabia. His firſt doctrines probably extended no further than to his own peculiar interpretations of the Koran; and his diſciples were confined for ſeveral years to a few tribes of the deſert. By degrees, however, his opinions became more widely ſpread; his hereſies were eaſily adopted by the illiterate robbers, whom they encouraged with the hopes of conqueſt and of pillage; and as he found new followers continually flocking round his ſtandard, it is probable that his enthuſiaſm grew more enterprizing, and his ambition more daring. The deſign of reforming the old religion of his country,

country, ſeems to have given place in his mind to that of eſtabliſhing a new one; while the plunder of pilgrims and caravans, of moſques and cities, fed at once the zeal and the avarice of his diſciples. There was, however, for his own purpoſes at leaſt, no want either of genius or of knowledge in Abdul. Of the firſt he had enough to plan with wiſdom, and to execute with firmneſs, his ſchemes for changing the religion of his country; and of the ſecond he poſſeſſed a portion fully adequate to convince the Arabs that he beſt could explain the ordinances of heaven.

But although the doctrines of the new ſect had infected ſome of the principal hordes, and had many ſecret partizans throughout Arabia, yet it was not until within theſe few years, that the Wahabees appeared in arms againſt the ſtandard of Mahomet, and the authority of the Sultan. When, at laſt, Abdul found his influence to be ſo extenſive, and his followers ſo numerous, as to ſecure to him the attachment of the greater number of the tribes of the deſert, he boldly proclaimed himſelf the reformer of thoſe baneful innovations, which, he pretended, had deſtroyed the true and genuine character of Iſlamiſm. In the year 1803 he advanced with a numerous army againſt Mecca, took poſſeſſion of that city, plundered the moſques, and maſſacred the inhabitants. The Ottoman armies were unable to reſiſt his progreſs; and he was already advancing to Medina, when the plague and the ſmall-pox broke out in his army, and forced him to retreat with his booty into the deſert. It was during his ſtay at Mecca, that the audacious rebel wrote a letter to the Sultan, in which he reminded him, that the dignity of Caliph only remained to him, while the holy city was protected by him; and that its conquerors now required of him to renounce the title of Commander of the Faithful, which devolved by right upon him to whom God had given the victory.

The ſucceſs of the Wahabees occaſioned the utmoſt conſternation at Conſtantinople, eſpecially at the Porte, and among the Ulemah; for the full extent of the danger was carefully concealed from the people. No devout Turk could, indeed, be expected to hear without horror of the profanation of that moſt ſacred place which gave birth to the Prophet, and which is ſanctified in the belief of every true Muſſulman. It was beſides a ſubject of moſt ſerious alarm to the government, that the authority of the Sultan as Caliph might be queſtioned, ſince it is well known that he can retain that name, ſo impoſing for Mahometans, only while he is the maſter of Mecca and Medina. Nor was this alarm leſſened, when the Turkiſh miniſters began to make more exact inquiries into the nature and progreſs of the evil which it became

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ſo neceſſary to check. Almoſt all Arabia had openly adopted the religion of Abdul; it had many ſecret proſelytes in Syria and Anatolia, at Damaſcus, Aleppo, and Smyrna; and on the borders of the empire, the Pacha of Bagdad trembled more at the real power of the Wahabees, than at the menaces of the Sultan. Peremptory orders were iſſued by the Porte to the Pachas of Aſia to unite their forces againſt the rebels. Some of theſe governors were diſplaced, to make room for others believed to be more zealous in their attachment to the Porte; but even theſe required to be inſtigated by promiſes of yet greater rewards, before they could be induced to act with vigour in a cauſe which involved the exiſtence of their religion, and the honour of their ſovereign. The Turkiſh army approached by ſlow marches to Mecca, where Abdul had left a garriſon of five hundred men. The recapture of the holy city was ſoon accompliſhed; the triumph of the faithful was celebrated at Conſtantinople; and the Turkiſh government recalled its troops, and ſunk back into its accuſtomed tranquillity.

The immediate followers of Abdul were chiefly robbers, who were inured to hardſhips, and who fled for refuge to the deſert, whenever they were defeated in their predatory excurſions. The greater part, however, of that numerous army which he led againſt Mecca, had been collected from almoſt all the various hordes that wander with their flocks and their camels over Arabia. He had never been at the head of any regular force. The *banditti*, who flocked to the ſtandard of their leader, were attracted by the hopes of plunder; and though they were impelled by religious enthuſiaſm, they were eaſily diſperſed by the firſt appearance of diſaſter. But when they returned to their independent tribes, they knew that they could poſſeſs their ſpoils without the fear of puniſhment; and when the ſame inducements tempted them to renew their depredations, even the ſluggiſh Divan itſelf might have foreſeen the conſequences.

The timid, but cruel, policy of the Turks has never been exhibited in more ſtriking colours than in their late conduct towards the Wahabees, with whom they concluded what was known, perhaps, on both ſides, to be a treacherous peace. Inſtead of eſtabliſhing a ſufficient force for the protection of Mecca and Medina, the Porte is accuſed, at leaſt, of having employed a fanatical Muſſulman to aſſaſſinate the aged Abdul. His death, it is ſaid, has been lately avenged by the recapture of Mecca, and the pilhge of Medina; and his place has been ſupplied by his ſon, a man ſtill in the prime of life, as active, as powerful, and as ambitious as his father.

Of the peculiar doctrines of the Wahabees, we pretend not to ſpeak with any poſitive certainty. They aſſert, it is ſaid, the unity

unity of the Deity, like the Mahometans; they hold him to be immaterial, eternal, and omnipotent; and in their addreſſes to the Supreme Being, they are fervent and devout. According to them, God has never dictated any written code of laws to men; nor has he made any particular revelation of himſelf. His exiſtence, they think, is ſufficiently manifeſted in his works. His will cannot be miſtaken, ſince he has implanted the diſtinct perception of right and wrong in the human mind, together with the conviction that virtue alone can be agreeable to the Author of nature. They do not deny, however, that Providence has occaſionally interfered in the concerns of mortals in an extraordinary manner; and that it has choſen its inſtruments to promote the cauſe of truth, to reward the good, and to puniſh the guilty. Some men, they pretend, ſuch as Mahomet and Abdul, have been diſtinguiſhed by the peculiar favour of heaven. During their lives, the laws and ordinances of theſe men ought to be obeyed, and their perſons venerated. Their authority, however, ſhould ceaſe with their lives; for the plans of Providence will then be furthered by other means, and with other inſtruments. If this ſtatement be correct, and it comes to us from good authority, it is eaſy to ſee that ambition, not leſs than enthuſiaſm, dictated his religious creed to the craſty Abdul. As far as his theiſm goes, it is, perhaps, more ſublime than could have been well expected from an Arab of the deſert; but his pretenſions to govern the minds and actions of his countrymen, under the ſpecial authority of Heaven, betrayed the impoſtor in the teacher, and the rebel in the reformer. In limiting thoſe pretenſions to the period of his life, he probably loſt nothing for which he cared; while he aſſailed the Mahometan faith, without endangering his own immediate power. If, indeed, that power had been exerciſed only with the view of introducing a religion more rational than Mahomet's, we ſhould not have much regreted its progreſs. It is humiliating to think that ſo many millions of people ſhould conſider ſuch a miſerable rhapſody as the Koran to be really of divine origin; and yet it is much more lamentable to know the ferocious bigotry and intolerance of its diſciples. The dogmatical manner in which a Turkiſh doctor diſpoſes of the ſouls of all whom he calls infidels, might excite rather deriſion than anger, if the inſults and the cruelties experienced by ſtrangers in Mahometan countries, did not efface every impreſſion except that of indignation. Unfortunately for the cauſe of humanity, Abdul appears to have had as little tolerance as Mahomet. His ſword was ſtained with the blood of innumerable victims, and whole cities and diſtricts have been deſolated by his perſecutions.

Before we quit this ſubject, we ſhall juſt remark, that it has been ſaid

ſaid that ſome of the Ulemah undertook, with more zeal than prudence, to reclaim the apoſtates by argument. How their diſcuſſions were carried on, it would be difficult to aſcertain exactly. The Moſlem, it may be ſuppoſed, would inſiſt on the direct evidence which the witneſſes of the life and actions of Mahomet poſſeſſed of his divine commiſſion, and on the firm eſtabliſhment and wide diffuſion of the faith, in ſpite of the mighty and numerous obſtacles which the Prophet and his immediate followers had to encounter. The Wahabees would probably aſſert their better right to be heard, as bearing teſtimony from their own knowledge to the frequent interpoſitions of Heaven in favour of Abdul, who, if that were any proof of divine protection, had introduced the new doctrines under difficulties and dangers unprecedented in the religious revolutions of the Eaſt. 'The religion of Mahomet,' they probably added, 'is a partial religion, which was not intended for us. How can we (they would ſay) perform ablutions, when we have no water? How can we give alms, when we have no riches? Or what occaſion can there be to faſt during the month of Ramadan, when we faſt all the year?' * The reſult of theſe diſputes was ſuch as might be expected. Intolerant bigotry on one ſide, and fanatical enthuſiaſm on the other, would ſhut the ears of both parties to the language of truth and reaſon; and no appeal would be ſuffered to lye from the prejudices of either, but to the ſabre and the muſket. The appeal to arms has indeed been made; and we have thought that, in examining the publication of a traveller, whoſe book is almoſt wholly employed in detailing the manners, laws, and cuſtoms, prevalent in the Ottoman empire, we might eaſily be pardoned for introducing a ſubject which we conſider as both curious and important. The throne of the Sultan is already ſhaken in Europe. Who can doubt that the propagation of the new faith will rapidly accelerate the diſſolution of his power in Aſia?

The Turkiſh empire, indeed, at the preſent day, exhibits a moſt ſingular and anomalous appearance. To the eye, at a diſtance, it may ſeem a mighty and even a ſolid ſtructure; but, when cloſely examined, it only excites aſtoniſhment by not falling immediately to pieces. It would be impoſſible for us to follow our author in the account which he has given of it, or, in the limits which we preſcribe to ourſelves, to attempt to do more than to draw a mere outline of the extraordinary form of its conſtitution.

In order to make its real ſituation be underſtood, we cannot perhaps begin better, than by adopting the obſervation of Mr Eton, who remarks, that in the Mahometan ſyſtem of policy, we may trace

* See Malthus on the Principle of Population, b. I. c. 7.

trace three æras. 'The *firſt* was of that kind uſually denominated a theocracy, continued during the lifetime of the prophet himſelf, who, like Moſes and Joſhua among the Jews, appeared in the double character of a military chief and an inſpired legiſlator;' the *ſecond* laſted while the Saracen caliphs held in their hands both the ſpiritual and temporal authorities; and the *third* is marked by the ſeparation of theſe, ſince the concerns of religion have been truſted to the Ulemah, of whom the mufti is the chief. Another revolution, however, has taken place, which is ſcarcely leſs important than the others. We allude to the changes in the military ſyſtem, and eſpecially to the altered character of the Janiſſaries. In two great points, then, the preſent emperor ſtands in a very different poſition from the ancient ſultans, ſhould we even confine our views to his power in the capital of his empire. *Firſt*, He can iſſue no edict which is contrary to the Koran; and the Ulemah, who are now the ſole interpreters of the meaning of that book, muſt ſanction every law by the authority of their *fetrah*, before it can become binding on the people. Nay, to ſuch an extent is their power now puſhed, that the Sultan finds himſelf compelled to ſubmit, to the inſpection of their leading men, not only all his negotiations with other courts, but all the ſecrets of his cabinet. His ſole defence againſt the encroachments of this body, conſiſts in his remaining right to depoſe the mufti; but, though he can thus intimidate their chief, and gain over ſome of their leaders by the promiſes of promotion, the *eſprit du corps* acts frequently and ſucceſsfully in oppoſition to his will. His own miniſters do not fail to take advantage of this ſituation of things; and they often coaleſce with the Ulemah, in order to defeat the cabals which are continually carrying on againſt them in the ſeraglio. There, every favourite has a party, and every miniſter a protector. But the Sultan is kept in awe by the Ulemah; nor dares he raſhly to chooſe men for his counſellors, who are not agreeable to thoſe formidable interpreters of the law. Hence his power is really limited. Hence, too, he naturally endeavours to throw the chief reſponſibility on his miniſters, and is more eaſily induced to remain inactive himſelf. The conſequences of this may be clearly ſeen in a country, where the public voice is nothing; where each individual graſps at power and wealth, without any other conſideration; and where pride, prejudice, ignorance, and bigotry, check every improvement, and believe in no amelioration. *Secondly*, The debaſement of the Janizaries, by the introduction of the vileſt vagabonds of the community into their bands, and by their long ceſſation from warlike enterprizes, has diminiſhed conſiderably the power of the Sultan, as the ſovereign of a vaſt empire; though it has, perhaps, contributed

buted to his own perſonal ſecurity, by effectually damping that daring ſpirit of revolt among his troops which had proved fatal to ſo many of his predeceſſors. With reſpect to the military force of the Turks, we refer our readers to Mr Eton, whoſe ſtatements have been adopted by Mr Griffiths. The attention of the philoſophical politician, however, will be directed with more intereſt to the ſtate of the Turkiſh provinces. Theſe, as it is well known, are ſome of the faireſt, and have been ſome of the happieſt and moſt enlightened regions of the earth. Greece, Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, Arabia, recal a thouſand pleaſing recollections, which can no longer be aſſociated with them in their preſent ſtate of barbariſm, ſlavery, and degradation. The authority of the Sultan over theſe provinces is perhaps of the moſt ſingular nature which ever retained nations under the government of a ſovereign. We have heard the Turkiſh empire compared with Europe in the feudal times, and the Pachaliks likened to thoſe great fiefs which were held by feudal tenures. Some reſemblance may exiſt; but there are eſſential differences. The Pachas of Bagdad, Damaſcus, Aleppo, Albania, and the Morea, admit the nominal ſovereignty of the Ottoman emperor, as the lords of Guienne and Burgundy paid homage to their liege the King of France. But the kings of France knew well, that by a prudent policy theſe provinces might revert to the crown; intermarriages might be made; wars between the great barons might be fomented, by which they would be mutually weakened; and, finally, the extinction of families promiſed ſooner or later to give real or pretended rights to the ſovereign to aſſume dominion over the eſtates of his vaſſals. In Turkey, the governer is generally the moſt powerful man of the province, who reigns in the name of the Sultan, without aſking his leave. If it be worth his while, he ſends preſents to the Porte, and readily ſwears allegiance to a maſter, the ſhadow of whoſe authority he may ſometimes think it convenient to acknowledge. Even this admiſſion is made rather from the prejudices of religion, than from any other motive; and Selim continues to be reſpected as Caliph, where he has long ceaſed to be feared as Sultan.

In his account of the Turkiſh finances, Dr Griffiths is again indebted to Mr Eton. We do not object to this kind of honeſt plagiariſm. Dr Griffiths copies whole pages from another book, and fairly confeſſes it.

According to the law of Turkey, the wealth of every individual ought, at his death, to revert to the Sultan. It would be uſeleſs to expatiate on the folly and injuſtice of ſuch a law. That artifices ſhould be employed to elude it, can be a ſubject of no ſurpriſe; and that they ſhould ſucceed, can be a cauſe of no regret, except

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to the deſpot and his creatures, who require ſo unjuſt a ſacrifice. The uſual means of evading the claims of the Sultan, are ſufficiently indicative of the hypocriſy and the bigotry of the Turks. All donations for pious purpoſes, ſuch as the maintenance of moſques and hoſpitals, are conſidered as ſacred. When the father of a family wiſhes to provide for his children after his demiſe, he makes over the bulk of his fortune to ſome religious or charitable eſtabliſhment. A perſon is nominated to receive the appropriated ſum, and another to account with the receiver for its application. But the donor has the right to appoint both theſe perſons, and he of courſe takes care that they ſhall be the very individuals to whom he wiſhes to leave his eſtates. The Ulemah probably receive a ſufficient profit to induce them to wink at the deceit, which, by being very general, neceſſarily enriches them. Our author's chapter upon theſe *wakfs*, or falſe aſſignments, if it be not quite original, will be found to be curious and entertaining.

We have not time to follow Mr Griffiths in the detail of his voyage back from Conſtantinople to Smyrna. He took this opportunity of viſiting the Troad; and after reflecting upon what came under his own obſervation, during his 'haſty and immethodical viſit,' he confeſſes himſelf ſtrongly prejudiced in favour 'of thoſe hypotheſes' which M. Chevalier has preſented to the literary world. We are not inclined to diſpute with our traveller upon a queſtion which we have done our endeavours to put to reſt. It is not, however, a ſingle haſty and immethodical viſit to the Troad, that can entitle an author to aſſert, 'that every admirer of Homer and claſſic learning muſt feel themſelves deeply indebted to M. Chevalier's perſevering ſpirit of inquiry, for thoſe intereſting elucidations which ſcepticiſm only can wiſh to depreciate.'* We were glad to find that our traveller had time for other reflections.

* Mr Griffiths, in a note, takes occaſion to pay a high compliment to Mr Gell, who, he ſays, is entitled to every praiſe for a moſt diligent and accurate ſurvey of the Troad. Mr Gell made this ſurvey in three days; and Mr Griffiths, who made a haſty and immethodical viſit to the Troad twenty years before, pronounces this ſurvey to be moſt diligent and accurate!!! There is, however, one point, and it is of ſome importance, about which either he who obtained, or he who beſtowed the eulogy, muſt be ſtrangely miſtaken. If Mr Gell be accurate (ſee the Edinburgh Review for July 1805), there are evident traces of the city and reſidence of Priam. If Mr Griffiths, who admires the accuracy of Mr Gell, be himſelf accurate, 'not one ſtone marks the reſidence of Priam!—and ſo completely annihilated is every trace of his city, that doubts have even been entertained of its having ever exiſted!!!'

tions. They come, we think, more ſuitably from his pen; though ſome admirers of Homer and of claſſical learning, more faſtidious than ourſelves, may admire that they ſhould have been indited during a haſty and immethodical viſit to the plain of Troy. 'However the art of cooking,' ſays Dr Griffiths, 'may be little underſtood by parlour gueſts in general, it is of too much importance to be wholly neglected by travellers who perform a journey in theſe countries, and in the manner I did. I have had repeated occaſion,' adds he, with a conſcious ſenſe of talent, 'to congratulate myſelf, that *my abilities in that line* have prevented me from experiencing the loſs of a wholeſome and comfortable meal.'

After having quitted the Troad, Dr Griffiths viſited Tenedos, Mitylene, Ipſora, and Scio Dr Griffiths is a very gallant man, and does not fail to talk much of the beauty of the ladies in the laſt mentioned iſland. His criticiſms on their dreſs, we have no doubt, are very judicious; but we do not think it quite fair in him to publiſh to the world, that their ſhort petticoats did not ſucceed in preventing the eye of curioſity from ſpying their embroidered garters.

Our traveller, after having run ſome riſks of being either ſtarved or drowned, arrived at Smyrna, and proceeded from that city with the caravan to Aleppo. He paſſed by Sardis; had a view of the river Pactolus; ſaw the ſnow-capped Tmolus at a diſtance; purſued his route to Allah-ſheer, the ancient Philadelphia—to Aphiom-kara-hiſſar, the ancient Apamea—to Koniah, the ancient Iconium—to Ereklee, once Heraclea—over the waters of the Cydnus—acroſs the mountains of Taurus;—and having paſſed over from Adana to the coaſt of Syria, proceeded by Seleucia, Antioch, and Martavaun to Aleppo. The account of this journey forms, in our opinion, the moſt intereſting part of the volume in which it is contained. It cannot be read without deeply impreſſing the mind with abhorrence for the cruelty, cunning, and rapacity of the modern maſters of Aſia Minor. Virtue is not acknowledged if it do not conform with the precepts of the Koran; and there is ſcarcely either pity or charity for the ſtranger who thinks there may be other guides of duty. To treat him ill is lawful,—to inſult him is meritorious. No allowance is made for difference of education, opinion, and habits. Reaſoning is proſcribed where bigotry is law. The Muſſulman, when he ſpeaks to an infidel, anſwers every appeal to the beſt feelings of the human heart, and to the beſt energies of the human mind, by contemptuous and opprobrious epithets. The hard uſage which our traveller met with, marks well the character of the barbarous and ſuperſtitious people by whom he was ſurrounded. It is leſs offenſive to hear of the mad ceremonies of the mad followers of Mewlana and Ruſayee

at Koniah, than of the brutal intolerance of leſs fanatical Mahometans from Conſtantinople to Aleppo.

Having reſided for ſome time at Aleppo, Dr Griffiths was determined by a friend, an Engliſhman, to accompany him to Buſſorah. A journey acroſs the Deſert at mid-ſummer was, indeed, an arduous undertaking. Our traveller and his friend were not to be diſmayed; but it does ſeem extraordinary that they ſhould have taken with them the daughter of the latter, a child of ſeven years of age. Of the dangers, the difficulties, and the ſufferings of theſe travellers, we have not room to give much account. Mr H., the companion of Dr Griffiths, died on the journey. The following deſcription of this event is affecting, and would have been more ſo, if our author had been leſs ambitious of writing in a pretty ſtyle.

'At two o'clock P. M. the Simooleh blew ſtronger than uſual from the S. E.; and on joining the Mohaffah, I ſoon obſerved an afflicting change had taken place in the countenance of my friend. It was now that, in aggravation of all my ſufferings, I foreſaw the impoſſibility of his long reſiſting the violently burning blaſts which, with little intermiſſion, continued to aſſail us. The thermometer hanging round my neck was up to 116; and the little remaining water, which was in a leathern bottle, ſuſpended at the corner of the Mohaffah, had become ſo thick, reſembling the reſiduum of an ink-ſtand, that, parched and thirſty as I felt, I could not relieve my diſtreſs by any attempt to ſwallow it.

'At length I perceived evident marks of our approaching the long-looked for wells, where ſome relief was to be expected. The haſty march of the leading camels and ſtragglers, all verging towards one point, convinced me we were not far from the place of our deſtination. Willing to communicate the glad tidings to my friend, I rode to him, and expreſſed my hope that he would be ſoon refreſhed by a ſupply of water. He replied, 'Thank God! but I am almoſt dead.' I endeavoured to cheer his ſpirits; and then urging my horſe, advanced to the ſpot where I obſerved the camels were collecting together. In about half an hour I found myſelf amongſt a circle of animals greedily contending for a draught of muddy water, confined in a ſmall ſuperficial well about five feet in diameter. Preſſing to the edge, I laid myſelf upon my belly, and by means of my hand ſupplied myſelf with a fluid, which, however filthy in itſelf, and contaminated by the diſguſting mouths of as many camels and men as could reach it, was a ſource of indeſcribable gratification. It is wholly out of the power of language to convey any idea of the bliſsful enjoyment of obtaining water after an almoſt total want of it during eight-and-forty hours, in the ſcorching regions of an Arabian deſert in the month of July!

'But this moment of gratification was ſoon ſucceeded by one of peculiar horror and anxiety. Scarcely had I quenched my thirſt before the Mohaffah arrived. I flew with a bowl full of water to my friend, who drank but little of it, and in great haſte. Alas! it was his laſt draught! His

His lovely child, too, eagerly moiſtened her mouth of roſes, bliſtered by the noxious blaſt!

'With difficulty Joannes and myſelf ſupported my feeble friend to where the tent had been thrown down from the camel's back. He ſtammered out a queſtion reſpecting the time of the day; to which I anſwered it was near four: and requeſting the Arabs to hold over him part of the tent (to pitch it required too much time), I unpacked as ſpeedily as poſſible our liquor-cheſt, and haſtened to offer him ſome Viſnee (a kind of cherry-brandy): but nature was too much exhauſted! I ſat down, and receiving him in my arms, repeated my endeavours to engage him to ſwallow a ſmall portion of the liqueur. All human efforts were vain! Guſt after guſt of peſtilential air dried up the ſprings of life, and he breathed his laſt upon my boſom.' p. 376–8.

Dr Griffiths concludes the volume, by informing his readers of his ſafe arrival at Bombay from Baſſorah, though he does not favour us with the particulars of his voyage. We ſhould be unwilling to paſs a ſevere ſentence on his innocent quarto. When a man has travelled 'half the world over,' it would be hard to diſcourage him from telling the ſtory of his adventures, eſpecially if he ſhould be ſo polite as to attack no prejudices within a thouſand miles of thoſe to whom he addreſſes himſelf. This precaution taken, why ſhould not a traveller tell how he dined on the plain of Troy; how he ate *piloh* at Durgoot, *kebaubs* at Ereklee, and a comfortable ſupper at a Turkiſh village, where he expected nothing but *jaourt* and *pekmez?* All this is certainly very intereſting; and yet, as there may be too much of a good thing, we ſhall eaſily excuſe Dr Griffiths, if in his next volume he ſhould not be quite ſo exact in informing us of the contents of his bills of fare. He might, we think, leave his readers to ſuppoſe that a traveller muſt eat and drink; and, after having heard ſo much about it, they will not doubt that Dr Griffiths always ate and drank as well as he could. With reſpect to the *apparent* plagiariſms of our author we ſhall ſay nothing, but leave the queſtion to be ſettled between him and Meſſrs Eton and D'Ohgſon. Upon the whole, we are inclined to part with our traveller in good humour. His volume, we think, will be found more edifying than moſt novels; not ſo dull as moſt romances; and better worth buying than many books that are more loudly praiſed by more indulgent reviewers.

ART. III. *An Hiſtorical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti; comprehending a View of the Principal Tranſactions in the Revolution of Saint Domingo, with its Ancient and Modern State.* By Marcus Rainsford, Eſq. late Captain Third Weſt India Regiment, &c. &c. 4to. pp. 501. London, Cundle & Chapple. 1805.

SINCE the commencement of our Journal, we have made it a rule to pay eſpecial attention to thoſe diſcuſſions of colonial ſubjects, which intereſt England more than any other country, and which are daily acquiring new importance from the unhappy changes that have taken place in the balance of power, on both ſides of the Atlantic. Among theſe queſtions, the topics connected with the ſlave trade, and, in general, with the condition of the race which forms the bulk of our colonial population, have naturally claimed the principal ſhare of our notice; and we truſt that our exertions have not been without ſome little effect in putting that momentous argument upon its right grounds; removed, on the one hand, from the perilous doctrines of negro liberty, which have deſolated the colonies of France; and, on the other, from the lamentable error of the maxims ſtill clung to by the legiſlature of our own country, with the ſame obvious and fatal tendency. It may be uſeful here to connect theſe ſcattered diſcuſſions, by a general reference to the articles under which they are to be found. In examining the able tract called '*the Criſis of the Sugar Colonies*,' we took occaſion to ſtate thoſe general views of the conſequences of the colonial revolution, which had been ſuggeſted by the preceding events, and were countenanced by the exiſting circumſtances of the Weſt Indian community. Unhappily, the commencement of hoſtilities between the two great colonial powers, prevented the fulfilment of the expectations then entertained, and gave riſe among many other evils in both hemiſpheres, to the undiſputed eſtabliſhment of that formidable neighbour, whoſe preſent aſpect we are now enabled more nearly to contemplate. The publication of *Mr Dallas's Hiſtory of the Maroons*, afforded an opportunity of diſcuſſing ſome ſubordinate queſtions connected with Weſt Indian affairs, particularly the conduct of our government, and of the colonial legiſlatures, in the proſecution of the Maroon war. In the '*Voyage à la Louiſiane*' of Baudry de Lozieres, we met with ſome ſtriking illuſtrations of the ſtate of opinions in France, relative to colonial ſubjects. Mr Barrow's ſecond volume upon the Cape, furniſhed ſome important additions to the maſs of well-authenticated facts by which the advocates of abolition have eſtabliſhed the fundamental poſition, that the barbariſm

barism of Africa is inseparably connected with the slave trade; and *M'Kinnon's Tour* added several powerful documents to the evidence obtained from the enemies of the abolition, regarding various topics in the West Indian branch of the argument. When the discussion of the subject in Parliament gave rise to the '*Concise Statement of the Question*,' we entered with some fulness into the various branches of the argument, and more especially into the topics which have been added to the cause by the revolution of late years. '*A Defence of the Slave Trade*' having, upon the same occasion, been published by its friends, as a declaration of their grounds of proceeding, it appeared to merit attention, and we accordingly examined it at great length, and presented our readers with a detailed exposition of the whole question. The French treatise, entitled, '*Examen de l'Esclavage*,' gave us an opportunity of demonstrating the total change which opinions in France had undergone upon this great subject, and of adducing much new evidence from the confessions of our adversaries, against the system. And in noticing the tract lately published upon the Barbadoes correspondence, under the name of '*Horrors of Negro Slavery*,' we briefly explained the mighty confirmations deducible from those authentic documents to all the main doctrines of the abolitionists. By referring to these different articles, our readers will find the whole statement of this important subject, as it at present stands; and we purpose, for the future, only to take up such points in the controversy as may be presented in new lights, or to notice the additional information which shall from time to time be brought to view by the labours of succeeding authors. The work now before us contains somewhat deserving of this name, and relating to the branch of the subject in our eyes the most interesting of all, viz. the relation between the question of abolition, and the actual state of foreign affairs in the West Indies.

Mr Rainsford has compiled this volume, by putting together large extracts, and ill-made abridgements of the most popular and accessible works upon the West Indies. This coalition he has effected without any great skill or ingenuity; and if we except the varieties of a style, which has no pretensions to either elegance or perspicuity, and but few claims to the praise of grammar, there is in nine tenths of the work no more of the nominal author, than of Bryan Edwards or the Abbé Raynal. The small portion which remains, consists of the information collected by Mr Rainsford during a short residence on the island; and we only marvel how a person of ordinary capacity, with merely eyes and memory, should have had such opportunities as he possessed, and made so little of them. This little is certainly in-

tereſting, and muſt form the ſubject of the preſent article, after we have ſtopped to ſketch very generally the materials of the other chapters.

The work begins with a long hiſtory of Columbus's tranſactions in St Domingo and elſwhere, ſubſequent to his diſcovery of that iſland. All this is taken from Dr Robertſon and the Abbé Raynal: taken without any ſelection, and patched together with no ſort of ſkill. An attempt to bring down the hiſtory of the colony to the period of the revolution, is then made; and here, Raynal is reinforced by Bryan Edwards, whoſe 'Hiſtorical Sketch of St Domingo' furniſhes the whole view given by our author, of the ſituation of the iſland in 1789, unleſs in ſo far as he has added a few of the contradictory ſtatements of M. de Charmilly, publiſhed in his '*Lettre à M. Bryan Edwards.*' From the ſame ſources he draws the whole of his narrative of the revolution, and of the war carried on in the colony, inſerting in his text, not only the text of Mr Edwards, but ſeveral of the original papers given in his appendix, omitting ſome of that author's moſt intereſting ſtatements, correcting none of the miſtakes and wilful errors into which he has been convicted of falling, and obſcuring the whole by an arrangement and ſtyle, in compariſon of which, the clumſy method and tawdry compoſition of Edwards, may be fairly ſaid to riſe towards perfection. In this manner are manufactured the firſt 212 pages of Mr Rainsford's book; and here Bryan Edwards leaves him to himſelf; ſo that the remainder of the narrative (with the exception of the materials furniſhed by his own reſidence on the iſland) is taken from the Engliſh newſpapers during the laſt war which the French government carried on againſt the Blacks. Many of his documents, that is, of the letters and other official papers publiſhed in the journals of the day, are inſerted in the text: the reſt, together with the letter of Gregoire, the confeſſion of Ogé, and other papers in Edwards's notes; an extract from a pamphlet by the author, in which he quotes a great part of the Marſeilloiſe Hymn; a communication by a 'learned friend' who propounds the ſcheme of draughting off the overgrown population of London to cultivate the Weſt Indies; a fac-ſimile of Touſſaint's handwriting; and a bit of a ſentimental journey by a chaplain in the navy, form altogether an appendix of ſome hundred and odd pages. And this is the 'Hiſtory of St Domingo,' by Captain Rainsford; and this is the true way to expand a narrative of thirty or forty pages, into ſeveral pounds weight of letter-preſs.

It is neceſſary that we preface the abſtract which we intend to exhibit of the original information contained in Mr Rainsford's narrative,

narrative, by noticing his opportunities of inſtructing himſelf, and the general complexion of his prejudices or opinions. On his paſſage from Jamaica to join his regiment in Martinico, in the year 1797, he was forced into Cape François by ſtreſs of weather; and, aſſuming the diſguiſe of an American, he was permitted to land. The firſt object that attracted his attention, was Touiſſant L'Ouverture, who happened to be ſtanding on the beach, and immediately entered into converſation with him, in terms of great politeneſs. The repairs of the veſſel occupied ſeveral weeks, during which he amuſed himſelf, by mingling with the various ſociety of natives and foreigners in the capital, and by frequent excurſions into the country. After leaving the port to proceed on the voyage, the ſhip was once more expoſed to very bad weather, and forced into Fort Dauphin, where our author was put under arreſt on ſuſpicion of being a ſpy.

'Early in the morning he was taken on ſhore, and examined by a black general, named Muro, the commanding officer of the diſtrict. He could not help thinking that his appearance augured well, for he bore the principal mythological characteriſtic of juſtice. He was totally blind of one eye, and appeared to ſee but little through the other. He, however, relieved the priſoner from the apprehenſion of any charge exiſting previous to the moment; for he began his examination by inſiſting, that he was not an American, but an Engliſh ſpy, reconnoitering the coaſt; and cloſed it by acquainting him, that a court-martial, already ſummoned, would aſſemble on the morrow, and his trial would be prompt and deciſive. He was then conducted to a dark priſon, (which wanted none of the uſual concomitants of ſuch a place), and treated with the utmoſt indignity. There was no bed; nor had he any other proviſion than ſome coarſe dry fiſh, which he could not eat—a treatment, he was afterwards informed, that was uſed to priſoners during the ſpace between apprehenſion and trial, to prevent any opportunity for the contrivance of evaſion. At the hour of ten he was brought before a regular military court, compoſed of twelve black general officers, the etiquette of which aſtoniſhed him. General Chriſtophé, a relative of Touſſaint, being in a neighbouring diſtrict, preſided, and Muro ſat on his right hand. They interrogated him with the utmoſt diſcrimination and acuteneſs, appearing perfectly converſant with the nature of the buſineſs. But, for the commandant already named, not a look nor an attitude eſcaped him—and he darted his eye, in which both ſeemed to have centered, with an uncommon degree of fire, over every part of the priſoner, the form of whoſe very head-dreſs, he inſiſted, was not *en Americain!*

'He was put on his defence in equal form; but all he could urge had not the ſmalleſt effect, as he had no paſſports nor any American papers to exhibit. Notwithſtanding every appearance to the contrary, they had had ſome deciſive teſtimony of imprudent liberty on the

iſland; and, after ſeveral hours deliberation, he was condemned to ſuffer death as quick as poſſible. The maſter of the veſſel behaved with dignity of character, and the utmoſt ſolicitude. He proteſted againſt the judgment, but without effect; and the priſoner was remanded till the ſentence ſhould be tranſmitted to the General-en-Chef, for his approval.' p. 231–2.

He was now removed to another priſon, and kept fourteen days in conſtant expectation of being executed according to his ſentence. During this anxious period he was viſited by a female, in the commendation of whoſe elegance and beauty he is extremely romantic. She brought him proviſions, and attempted to conſole him by the moſt amiable diſcourſe. She was a woman of colour; and carefully concealed her name and rank, and every circumſtance which might lead to a diſcovery. Our author, who is a paſſionate admirer of the ſex, in all its ſhades and hues, was mightily ſolaced by this friendly intercourſe; and does not fail to fill a note upon the occaſion, with Ledyard's famous declamation in praiſe of women, beſides devoting a print to delineate the duſky beauty in the act of relieving him through the bars of his priſon. At length, on the fifteenth day, Touſſaint's anſwer arrived; and contained a reverſal of the ſentence, with an order for his releaſe, and a permiſſion to proceed on his voyage, accompanied by a hint, 'that he muſt never return to this iſland, without *proper paſſports.*' He accordingly once more left St Domingo, and arrived at the place of his deſtination.

The ſentiments of Mr Rainsford appear to be a ſingular jumble of prejudices againſt the abolition of the ſlave trade, ariſing evidently from an entire ignorance of the ſubject, and ſtill ſtronger prepoſſeſſions in favour of the negroes, whoſe eulogiſt he conſtantly is, and often in a very unwarrantable degree. In p. 99, he complains of the ſlave trade having been 'already too much agitated in this country.' And, in the very ſame paragraph, he admits that the importation of Africans into the colonies has been the fruitful ſource of 'revolt, treachery, murder, and ſuicide.' Soon after, notwithſtanding the intimate knowledge of colonial affairs, which he boaſts of, and his keen invectives againſt thoſe eternal babblers, who, without any 'knowledge or experience,' endeavour to inſtruct the coloniſts (p. 412.), we find him utterly confounding the abolition of ſlavery with the prohibition of the ſlave trade; and under the ſame head (p. 102.), while contraſting the ſituations of a Weſt Indian ſlave and an Engliſh artizan, he decides in favour of the former, chiefly becauſe—though a ſlave is tied down to one ſpot, a mechanic in this country has to wander about for employment, which he often cannot procure—and this, our author thinks much worſe than want of liberty, accompanied

panied by ſevere puniſhments. But, in the following paſſage, the confuſion of abolition with emancipation is ſtill more remarkable. After deſcribing the change of ſentiments which took place in Paris upon the ſubject of negro freedom, and ſtating that the ſame people who, in 1792, had been the advocates for the liberty of the negroes, became, in 1802, clamorous for their ſubjugation, he adds, that 'the mania ſpread into England; and that nation, where the miniſtry and people had blindly deſired the abolition at the expence of a portion of their empire, of commerce, and the ruin of a large body of coloniſts, ſtill more blindly joined in the popular wiſh of returning [reſtoring] to ſlavery thoſe who were completely emancipated.' (p. 262.) Before cloſing theſe preliminary remarks upon the authority due to Mr Rainsford, we muſt notice his extreme careleſſneſs in following former writers through their moſt notorious miſtakes. It is known to our readers, that Mr Bryan Edwards, in deſcribing the commencement of the inſurrection on the plain of the Cape, particularizes the ſlaves on M. Gallifet's plantation, as peculiarly forward in the cruelties of thoſe dreadful ſcenes; and aggravates the complexion of their guilt, by ſtating that the negroes of Gallifet were proverbial all over St Domingo, for the extreme indulgence with which they were treated. But it has ſince been ſhewn by inconteſtable evidence, that, ſeven years before Mr Edwards's hiſtory was publiſhed, every perſon acquainted with Weſt Indian affairs had been in the habit of quoting the inſtance of M. Gallifet's plantation, as a ſtrong illuſtration of the evils reſulting from the maltreatment of the negroes: for that, the original proprietor having died about twenty years ago, the ſyſtem of management had been changed under his ſucceſſor, and the cruel treatment of the ſlaves had, ſince the change, rendered a conſtant purchaſe of new hands neceſſary—a thing quite unknown ſo long as the St Domingo proverb, '*heureux comme un negre de Galifet*,' continued in force: (See the ſtatement of this point by Mr Brougham, Colonial Policy, vol. II.) Yet does Mr Rainsford give the ſtatement of Edwards, without the leaſt alluſion to the change of treatment! (See p. 135.) And not only has he followed that author into the errors detected by others: he has taken parts of his narrative as true, which the ſubſequent pages of his own work flatly contradict. Thus, the ſtory told in the text of Edwards's hiſtory, about Colonel Mandrick's murder, is almoſt entirely contradicted in one of the notes; for the author there admits, that ſince the text was printed, he had received a ſatisfactory diſproof of the worſt circumſtances, which he had previouſly recorded upon inſufficient authority. But Mr Rainsford gives the narrative as it ſtands in the text, and appears never to have read the note which retracts it!

it!—one proof, among many others, of the extreme impropriety of permitting any miſtatement to go abroad at all, when its correction is contained in another part of the ſame volume. It may form a ſuitable addition to theſe illuſtrations of Mr Rainsford's vaunted knowledge of his ſubject, if we notice his method of eſtimating the negro population of St Domingo. We believe the moſt extravagant computation of the number of blacks in that iſland, prior to the revolution, never exceeded 600,000; and 460,000 was reckoned the moſt accurate ſtatement. Our author, notwithſtanding the inevitable effects of the wars and inſurrections in thinning thoſe numbers, gives the inhabitants of St Domingo (p. 412.) at three or four millions in round numbers.

From theſe obſervations, our readers will be enabled to eſtimate the credit due to Mr Rainsford's ſtatements, both by attending to his opportunities of information, and conſidering the bent of his prejudices. We ſhall now proceed to notice the facts concerning the ſtate of things in the new Black empire, which his reſidence there has enabled him to lay before his reader. It is extremely intereſting to contemplate the circumſtances of that very extraordinary community; and unfortunately this is almoſt the only opportunity of doing ſo which has yet been afforded.

The firſt thing that ſtruck Mr Rainsford upon his landing at the Cape, was the real equality which prevailed among the inhabitants in the ordinary intercourſe of ſociety. He happened to viſit the Hotel de la Republique, the principal tavern in the town, and frequented by Americans.

'Here,' ſays he, 'were officers and privates, the colonel and the drummer, at the ſame table indiſcriminately; and the writer had been ſcarcely ſeated at a repaſt in the firſt room to which he was conducted, when a fat negro, to initiate him in the general ſyſtem, helped himſelf frequently from his diſh, and took occaſion to ſeaſon his character by large draughts of the wine, accompanied with the addreſs of 'Mon Americain.' The appearance of the houſe, and its accommodations, were not much inferior to a London coffee-houſe, and on particular occaſions, exhibited a ſuperior degree of elegance. Touſſaint not unfrequently dined here himſelf; but he did not ſit at the head of the table, from the idea (as was aſſerted) that the hours of refection and relaxation ſhould not be damped by the affected forms of the old regimen, and that no man ſhould aſſume a real ſuperiority in any other place than the field. He was in the evenings at the billiard-table, where the writer converſed and played with him ſeveral times; and he could not help, on ſome occaſions, when a want of etiquette diſturbed him for a moment, congratulating himſelf, that if he experienced not the refinement of European intercourſe, he ſaw no room for inſincerity: and that if delicate converſe did not always preſent itſelf, he was free from the affectation of ſentiment.' p. 216.

To

To theſe habits of equality in private life, a ſtriking contraſt is preſented by the ſtrictneſs of their military diſcipline. The account which our author gives of this important branch of their policy is, indeed, very impreſſive, and, beſides greatly modifying the opinion we had formed of the negro government and its reſources, has a powerful tendency to awaken ſtill more lively feelings of alarm than we had previouſly entertained for the ſafety of the colonial empire in the Weſt Indies. Martial law prevailed in full vigour over the whole iſland,—and was diſpenſed with the utmoſt order and regularity. The troops required very rarely any examples of puniſhment, and theſe were trivial, chiefly ſuch as conſiſted in the ſhame of a ſlight confinement or the like. Their numbers were very great; every man capable of bearing arms could be turned out at a minute's warning, and ſixty thouſand ſoldiers, excellently equipped and in complete diſcipline, were frequently exerciſed together on the plain of the Cape. Our author was preſent at one of theſe ſpectacles, and has deſcribed it in the following terms.

'Having been informed of a review which was to take place on the plain of the Cape, the writer availed himſelf of the opportunity, accompanied by ſome Americans, and a few of his own countrymen, who reſided there under that denomination. Of the grandeur of the ſcene he had not the ſmalleſt conception. Two thouſand officers were in the field, carrying arms, from the general to the enſign, yet with the utmoſt attention to rank, without the ſmalleſt ſymptom of the inſubordination that exiſted in the leiſure of the hotel. Each general officer had a demi-brigade, which went through the manual exerciſe with a degree of expertneſs ſeldom witneſſed, and performed equally well ſeveral manœuvres applicable to their method of fighting. At a whiſtle a whole brigade ran three or four hundred yards; then, ſeparating, threw themſelves flat on the ground, changing to their backs or ſides, keeping up a ſtrong fire the whole of the time, till they were recalled; they then formed again, in an inſtant, into their wonted regularity. This ſingle manœuvre was executed with ſuch facility and preciſion, as totally to prevent cavalry from charging them in buſhy and hilly countries. Such complete ſubordination, ſuch promptitude and dexterity, prevailed the whole time, as would have aſtoniſhed any European ſoldier who had the ſmalleſt idea of their previous ſituation.' p. 217–18.

He adds, in another place, ſeveral remarks on the ſtedfaſt ſpirit of reſiſtance to any foreign invader by which all theſe troops are animated,—and ſtates a circumſtance of no ſmall moment in the eſtimate of the power poſſeſſed by this new empire, viz. the univerſal elevation of the ableſt and moſt crafty perſons to the chief ſhare of influence and of property. Situations of truſt and reſponſibility he found filled by negroes, ſome of them Africans by birth, who were recollected in the loweſt ſtate of ſlavery before the revolution,

lution, and many high places were likewiſe occupied by men of talents who, under the old *regime*, had been free negroes or mulattoes. According to Mr Rainsford, too, the agriculture and population of the iſland has ſuffered infinitely leſs than might have been expected from its late unſettled ſtate. The ſugar and coffee crop of 1800, he affirms, was not more than one third leſs than the produce of the moſt proſperous ſeaſons before the revolution. And 'the increaſe of population,' ſays he, 'was ſuch as to aſtoniſh the planters reſident in the mother country, who could not conceive the poſſibility of preventing that falling off in the numbers of the negroes which formed their abſolute neceſſity for ſupplying them by the ſlave trade.' (p. 240.)

Some of Mr Rainsford's accounts of manners, and of the comforts of the lower orders in this ſingular commonwealth, we have occaſionally ſuſpected of exaggeration. But, even taken with much allowance, they form a very pleaſing picture. The ſumptuouſneſs of living which he aſcribes to the ſuperior orders in the iſland, particularly the wealthy inhabitants of the Cape, we by no means queſtion. That chaſteneſs of taſte was generally conſpicuous in their finery, we muſt be allowed to doubt. The prevalence of ſtrict etiquette, which he talks of in p. 220., and the excellent diſcipline of the domeſtics, we ſhould think rather incompatible with the habits of equality and relaxation which we formerly dwelt upon;—and we can ſcarcely conceive by what ſtandard he judges of polite or accompliſhed ſociety, when we find him praiſing, in that particular, the hordes of emancipated ſlaves among whom he mixed.—'A conſcious eaſe,' ſays he, 'and certain *gaieté du cœur* preſided over every repaſt.' In many inſtances he heard reaſoning, and 'witneſſed manners of acuteneſs and elegance, the relation of which would appear incredible from thoſe who were remembered in a ſtate of ſervitude, or whoſe parents were in ſituations of abject penury; while ſallies of wit, not frequently ſurpaſſed, have enlivened many an hour.' After aſſerting, in general, that the enjoyments of life were to be found in a high degree at the Cape, and that their 'alloy did not exceed, nor perhaps always equal that of ancient European cities,' he adds, what we have great difficulty in believing, that the men 'were, in general, ſenſible and polite, often dignified and impreſſive; the women frequently elegant and engaging; and that the intercourſe of the ſexes was on the moſt rational footing.' (p. 221.) He is loud, too, in his praiſes of the negro players, whom he has ſeen perform comedies in a ſtyle that would not diſgrace the firſt theatre in Europe.

The happineſs of the lower orders and their virtues, however, are painted in a ſtill more utopian manner. Labour was ſo much abridged,

abridged, that our author ſays it would be 'a great gratification to the feeling heart, to ſee the peaſant in other countries with a regulated toil ſimilar to that of the labourer in St Domingo.' (p. 228.) The condition of the bulk of the people, he obſerves, 'approached nearer to happineſs than many others which are conſidered its ultimatum. Crimes were by no means frequent, and thoſe rather attributable to accident than vice.' (p. 223.) Such high colouring will certainly deceive nobody of ordinary ſenſe. But the following paſſage, containing more details, and executed in a more ſober ſtyle, may probably be admitted to convey a fairer idea of the ſtate of the negro peaſantry in the new empire.

'In one inſtance, the writer was introduced by a Brigand of peculiar intelligence, (with whom he had frequent conferences on the military tactics of the Black army), to the cottage of a black labourer, of whom an account may not be unintereſting. He had a family of thirteen children; eight of them by one woman, and the remainder by two others; the former only lived with him in the ſame cottage, with his mother, who was aged and infirm; the other two ſeparately, at a ſmall diſtance. This man was an epitome of legiſlature, and his family a well regulated kingdom in miniature. His cottage conſiſted of three irregular apartments, the firſt of which was his refectory, where, as often as poſſible, and always on *jours de fêtes*, his ſubjects aſſembled, including on thoſe occaſions his three wives. The furniture of this apartment was entirely of his own making, even to the ſmalleſt utenſil, and with an ingenuity beyond what might be expected from perfect leiſure; notwithſtanding the artificer, during the proceſs, had been obliged to attend his labour in the fields, and was a conſiderable time in arms. On a neat ſhelf, appropriated peculiarly to their uſe, lay a maſs book, and a mutilated volume of Volney's Travels, ſome parts of which he underſtood more than his viſitor. Every thing convenience required was to be found on a ſmall ſcale; and the whole ſo compact, and clean, with ſuch an air of *propreté* throughout as was abſolutely attractive. His own bed-room was furniſhed with an improved bedſtead, ſupported by truſſels, with a mattreſs and bedding of equal quality with the other furniture; but that of his children and mother ſurpaſſed the whole. One bedſtead contained them, yet ſeparated the male from the female, the young from the aged, and was ſeparated or combined in an inſtant. The third was his kitchen and ſtorehouſe, and might alſo be called his laboratory; for conveniences were found for chemical experiments, though not of the moſt ſcientific kind; but every utenſil for culinary purpoſes was provided in the beſt manner. The wife of this labourer (for he had ſubmitted to the ceremony of marriage with the female who had born him the moſt children, as is the general cuſtom with them) was nearly as ingenious as himſelf, and equally intelligent. The mode he purſued in the regulation of his domeſtic economy was excellent. As continence is not a virtue of the blacks, the increaſe of his family was not confined to his own houſe; yet, even in his amours he was juſt; and

and as the two mothers before mentioned were leſs protected than his oſtenſible wife, the primary object of his conſideration was to have the whole of his children under his own care. This was reconciled to all parties from the firſt, in ſo mild a way, that no diſtinction was perceivable but in age, while the mothers held a relationſhip to their domiciliated offspring ſimilar to that of an aunt or couſin, each exerting herſelf for the purpoſe of adding to the comforts of her own child.—On feſtive occaſions, the two mothers ſat alternately on the right or left of the miſtreſs of the houſe, with as much etiquette as might be perceived in a more elevated ſtation, and with the utmoſt harmony. The maſter of the family was abſolute; but with him it was in theory, not in practice; for all ſeemed to vie in forbearance. As ſoon as the children could contribute their little powers to labour, they were employed; the younger (except as regarded their ſtrength) being ſubject to the inferior offices; and, ſingular as it may appear, on the feſtive occaſions alluded to, they waited upon their ſeniors, though but by a few years, and ſeemed delighted in the office. Agreeable to this rule, in accordance with that reverence for age ſo remarkable among blacks of every condition, the grandmother received the affection and attention of all; and though often crabbed, infirm, and diſcontented, no one ſeemed to conſider her failings as ſuch, but as a duty preſcribed them to bear.' P. 225—227.

After the picture which this abſtract preſents of the growing reſources, and, we may ſay, the completed diſcipline of the military force in St Domingo, it will doubtleſs afford matter of ſurpriſe to find that our author belongs to that claſs of reaſoners who entertain no fears whatever of ſuch a neighbourhood; that he truſts entirely to certain peaceful profeſſions, which circumſtances have at different times wrung from the rulers of theſe negro tribes, and treats, with a contempt altogether indignant, thoſe who preſume to think the negro-peopled colonies of Cuba, Jamaica, and Guiana, in the ſmalleſt jeopardy from the ſovereignty of inſurgent negroes in both diviſions of St Domingo. His admiration of Touſſaint, which, though exceſſive, may be pardoned, when we reflect how much of it ariſes from gratitude, has chiefly, in our opinion, miſled him into a belief, that this new dynaſty can be kept united, and ſubject to regular organization, and that inoffenſive councils are likely to retain their ſway over the chiefs of the Blacks. But how little truſt was to be repoſed in Touſſaint himſelf, we think ſufficiently evinced by the indeciſion of his conduct towards the French government, and towards the people who had confided their cauſe to his management. The great and fatal blunder of that excellent perſon's life, his ſurrender of authority almoſt at diſcretion to Le Clerc, is in our minds an ample proof that his talents were not proportionate to his virtues, and that, with all the more amiable parts of the civilized character, and

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ſome of the beſt qualities of the ſavage, he was eminently deficient in that ſtrength of reſolution and conſtancy of purpoſe which alone can ſecure well grounded truſt in a public man, or give value and efficiency to the reſt of his endowments.

But at any rate, when Touſſaint left the ſtage, he was ſucceeded by Deſſalines; and we really do hope that we ſhall hear no more of this man's ſuperiority to the reſt of his race, and of his perſonal qualities furniſhing a pledge, againſt all the beſt founded apprehenſions derived from general views, that the military republic of negroes will be a harmleſs and peaceful neighbour. His firſt act, to be ſure, after aſſuming the ſupreme power, was dictated by humanity, and merits moſt of the praiſes beſtowed on it; —we allude to the reward offered for the reſtoration of exiled negroes to their own country. But what was his next act? A rigorous perſecution of all perſons who had contributed, in any way, even as informers, to the ſchemes of Le Clerc and Rochambeau. Theſe were immediately devoted to capital puniſhment; and the officers of the Black army were charged with the ſummary diſcovery, trial and execution of thoſe unhappy perſons. By the act for abjuring the French nation, inſtant death is denounced to any native of France, 'who may ſoil, with his ſacrilegious footſtep, this territory of liberty.' (See Appendix, No. XIV.) In his proclamation when appointed governor-general for life, we find the moſt barbarous exultation expreſſed at a retroſpect of the cruelties committed in the revolutionary war. 'Where,' ſays he, 'is that Haytian ſo vile, ſo unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not fulfilled the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating thoſe blood-thirſty tygers? If there be one, let him fly! indignant nature diſcards him,' &c.—'Yes, we have rendered to theſe true cannibals war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage. Yes, I have ſaved my country; I have avenged America,' &c. (See Appendix, No. XV.) But the language of this chief, when he talks of the colonies where the negroes are ſtill enſlaved, is too pointed not to make its application immediately. After mentioning the 'frightful deſpotiſm exerciſed at Martinique,' he exclaims, 'Unfortunate people of Martinique! Could I but fly to your aſſiſtance, and break your fetters! Alas! An inſurmountable barrier ſeparates us. Yet perhaps a ſpark from the ſame fire which inflames us, will alight on your boſoms: Perhaps at the ſound of this emotion, ſuddenly awakened from your lethargy, with arms in your hands, you will reclaim your ſacred and indelible rights.' (Ibid.) The following addreſs is equally intelligible, and muſt attract the attention of every one not reſolved to ſhut his eyes. 'Tremble! tyrants, uſurpers, ſcourges of the new world! Our daggers are ſharpened; your puniſhment is ready!

Sixty

Sixty thouſand men, equipped, inured to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new ſacrifice to the manes of their aſſaſſinated brothers.' (Ibid.)

Such are the proſpects offered by the character and views of the actual rulers of the Black Empire. Let us hear no more then of Deſſalines, the worthy ſucceſſor of the peaceful Touſſaint, and the ſimple and unoffending tribes entruſted to his pacific rule. No change of dynaſty can new-make or new-mould half a million of men; convert ſlaves into freemen, or force a rude multitude into a community of civilized ſubjects. And when were barbarians ever peaceful?—Neither let us be told that our fears are chimerical, and our ſpeculative views of danger from the neighbourhood of Hayti, 'ſenſeleſs and hypothetical, and founded in ignorance of the ſubject,' (p. 414.) With theſe documents before our eyes, it is in vain to talk of theory. But, more than all this, let not ſuch dangers as we have been contemplating, or the reſources and ſpirit of the new empire, be deſpiſed in conſideration of 'the reſpectable ſtate of defence in which our iſlands are kept.' (p. 415.) And, above every thing, let it not be forgotten that all our fears are indeed uſeleſs, and all our meaſures of precaution vain, ſo long as we perſiſt in filling our fineſt colonies, thoſe ſettlements moſt expoſed to the influence of negro inſurrection, with the natural allies of the common enemy, and with the ſeeds of new flame, as well as the fuel which can beſt ſupport it. Let us at length be wiſe 'while it is called to-day;' and ſince we cannot bring ourſelves to aboliſh the ſlave trade, for juſtice or for money, let us now at leaſt yield to the neceſſities of our ſituation, and terminate that dangerous commerce, for ſafety.

We have enlarged ſo much on what appears to be the moſt valuable portion of the work now before us, that we cannot afford room for any further abſtract of its contents. It contains, however, ſeveral ſtatements of ſome importance, relative to the employment of bloodhounds, both in the French ſervice and our own. Theſe we can recommend to our readers, both as giving amuſing and intereſting information. They will be found in No. X. of the Appendix. Before cloſing this article, we have to remark, that Mr Rainsford's book is adorned with plates, taken from drawings made by himſelf, while reſident in St Domingo. We cannot give them any great commendation for taſte or ſkill; and we are certain that, in ſome particulars, they have no claims to accuracy. There is not, for example, a ſingle negro repreſented with any of the features peculiar to the race. Every one has the high ſkull, and noſe, and thin lips, and general expreſſion of the European; ſo that the negroes of Mr Rainsford's pencil, are exactly whites with their faces blackened.

ART.

ART. IV. Caroli Frederici Gærtner, Med. Doct. Soc. Natur. Curios. Suev. Sodal. Phys. Jenens. Gotting. Membri, &c. *Carpologia, ſeu Deſcriptiones et Icones Fructuum et Seminum Plantarum:* ſc. Continuatio operis Joſephi Gærtner de Fructibus et Seminibus Plantarum, Vol. III.—Faſc. 1. P. 1. cum Tab. Æn. x. Sumptibus C. F. E. Richter, Bibliopolæ Lipſienſis. Typis Schrammianis. Tubingæ, 1805. 4to.

THE claſſical work of the late Dr Joſeph Gærtner, *de fructibus et ſeminibus plantarum*, is, we apprehend, one of thoſe that are more generally recommended and quoted, than ſtudied and underſtood: it is chiefly celebrated, we think, as a *curious* publication, full of beautiful engravings; and in this capacity it graces, with Hill's vegetable ſyſtem, and Thornton's 'national work,' the ſhelves of many a botanical library. The benefit which ſucceeding botaniſts have derived from it, appears, with a few exceptions, to be trifling indeed, if we conſider how few of the many botanical writers now living, betray any ſymptoms of more than a ſuperficial acquaintance with the ſubject. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that, after the appearance of ſuch a guide, ſo many even of our better deſcribers of plants, ſhould either not venture at all into the dreaded receſſes of the fruits and ſeeds, or, if they do, run into ſuch labyrinths of confuſion, and give ſuch unintelligible accounts, that the ſtudent finds himſelf loſt and bewildered in following them. Who would expect to meet with expreſſions like the following—'*pericarpium cavum;*' '*fructus abſque manifeſta ſeptatione trilocularis;*' '*fructus quinqueloculares et monoſpermus;*' '*pomum loculis extus convexis;*' '*capſula valvulis longitudinaliter debiſcens;*' '*bacca receptaculis tribus affixa quæ in longum per parietem excurrunt;*' '*drupa quadrivalvis, baſi diſcedens,*' &c.! and yet theſe are not the miſnomers of minor writers of the day: even the beſt of them ſpeak of '*ſemina tegumine rugelloſo nucleo ampliore;*' of '*ſemen biloculare, bivalve, debiſcens, inane, obſcurum.*' Obſcure indeed! but clearneſs itſelf, if compared with the uncouth deſcriptions which they give of the interior ſtructure of the ſeeds; which, however, they rarely venture upon at all. This neglect of organs ſo eſſential muſt ſtrike us as the more incongruous, if contraſted with the ſolicitude and care which Nature employs to ſecure their production, by the admirable apparatus of the flowers that precedes them,—often ſo complicated, to no other apparent end and purpoſe, than the formation of the fruit. It is the fruit, and ſtill more the ſeeds it harbours, that afford the moſt conſtant, unerring, and characteriſtic marks, and cannot there-

fore but be considered as of the greatest value to the systematical botanist. *

While we thus reprobate the inattention to carpology, that marks the writings of most of our botanical contemporaries, it is but justice to observe, that the prejudices which once seemed to be entertained against it, by a certain school, begin gradually to disappear. Those botanists, whose deeper insight into vegetable economy has taught them to consider the natural affinities of plants as an object by no means of idle speculation, are already fully aware of the necessity of the study of carpology; nor is it a matter of doubt, but that, ere long, botanists of all other persuasions will discover the propriety of following their example.

If we mention the late Gærtner's great work as one which has formed an æra in the history of botanical writings, it is not that we affect to join the common-place encomiums so indiscriminately bestowed by botanical writers and reviewers upon *all* the parts of that performance, or to place implicit confidence in every thing that has come from the pen or pencil of that celebrated naturalist. We wish to do justice to a work of great and original merit, without seeking to disguise those imperfections which are almost inseparable from such extensive undertakings. That author, we are convinced, has often trusted too much to analogy in his descriptions and delineations, especially in those of the minuter seeds: his specimens were not constantly the most perfect ones, nor had he always opportunities of repeating his observations. Hence, even with *his* genius for penetrating at once through the complicated organization which presented itself to his view, it was often impossible to avoid deception. It would be unfair, however, to cavil at inaccuracies proceeding from such innocent causes. We are rather surprized, indeed, at their comparative fewness; and nobody, we trust, will dissent from us, who at all knows to appreciate the merits of such an herculean labour. For this, as well as for other reasons, we think it unnecessary at present to pass any particular censure upon the original work of that illustrious botanist. Our duty, however, forbids us to extend the same indulgence to the performance now immediately under consideration—the continuation, partly posthumous, and partly supplied by the son of that celebrated author.

Dr Gærtner, in the two volumes which constitute his Carpology,

* We cannot, however, go the whole length of that zealous carpologist, who maintained that there was divine authority for founding all botanical arrangement upon this favourite branch of the study; and that this was distinctly expressed in the text, 'By their *fruits* shall ye know them.'

logy, had made us acquainted with the fruits of one thouſand genera of plants, that is, about half the number known at the period of his publication. Though the preface to the ſecond volume ſtates, that with it the work is to be conſidered as completed, yet there remained ſome materials which that indefatigable man, notwithſtanding the decayed ſtate of his health, could not ſuffer to be loſt for want of exertion. He therefore again reſumed the taſk of delineation and deſcription; and forty more genera, the beginning of an intended ſupplement, were nearly accompliſhed, when he was cut off in the midſt of his labours. Prompted by the wiſhes of ſeveral naturaliſts to ſee the work continued, Dr C. F. Gærtner (as we learn from an advertiſement annexed to the number before us) reſolved to take up the thread of his father's inveſtigations; and, with this view, undertook and accompliſhed, in the years 1802 and 1803, a carpological tour in France, England and Holland. He acknowledges that the liberality with which the moſt celebrated naturaliſts of thoſe countries aſſiſted him in his purſuits, has far exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. At Paris he obtained permiſſion from the Directors of the Muſeum of the Jardin des Plantes, not only to examine the treaſures of their fruit collection, but alſo to make drawings of every thing that was remarkable; and, through the communications of ſeveral botaniſts of that capital, he became poſſeſſed of moſt of the genera of Aublet, Commerſon, l'Heritier, and others. In London he met with the ſame encouragement from Sir Joſeph Banks; and likewiſe obtained ſpecimens of fruits and ſeeds from Mr Lambert. At Leyden he made a conſiderable acquiſition in Ceylon and Javaneſe pericarps and ſeeds, moſt of them preſented to him by Profeſſor Brugmanns. Thus ſupplied with valuable materials, Dr Gærtner jun. promiſes to continue the work of his father without interruption; and we rejoice at it, eſpecially as what appears to belong to him in the number before us, augurs by no means unfavourably for what we are to expect from his talents.

The editor has omitted to inform us how much of this firſt number is poſthumous. We have reaſon however to believe, that the five firſt plates belong entirely to the father. The figures which they contain are of unequal merit; ſome of them being greatly inferior to what we were accuſtomed to admire in the finiſhed and complete repreſentations of the preceding volumes, and made from ſpecimens too imperfect to add much to our better knowledge of the plants to which they reſpectively belong. More than a third part of the deſcriptions we find deficient, either with regard to the whole ſeed, or one or more of its conſtituent parts. Such deficiencies occurring but ſeldom in the preceding

volumes, we may conclude that the late author had not intended to offer these carpological gleanings to the public eye in the imperfect state in which we now see them. Some of these chasms, we think, Dr Gærtner jun. might have found opportunities to fill up himself; for that he did not wish to abstain from making any necessary additions, appears from his endeavours to complete the synonomy, and from some occasional remarks in the body of the text.

We now proceed to offer some desultory remarks on such of the plants contained in this number, as are either most remarkable, or stand in need of additional illustration.

Of the four grasses represented in the first plate, one is a species of *Ischæmum*, considered as new and distinguished, on account of the transverse wrinkles of the outer glumes of the sessile flowers, by the appellation of *rugosum*. Dr Gærtner will find, on consulting Salisbury's *Icones stirpium rariorum*, that his plant is by no means different from the *I. rugosum* of Konig, who likewise pitched upon this name to denote the wrinkled appearance of the glumes. These *rugæ*, it should however be observed, are not peculiar to that species; *I. aristatum* is likewise provided with them, though distinguishable from the former, by its glumes being at the same time longitudinally striated.

Rottbœllia incurvata and *corymbosa* are made to form a genus, called *Ophiurus*. It is characterized by the filiform, not really articulated, spikes, and each apparent joint having only one niched flower. Another character, which distinguishes this genus from Rottbœllia, is here stated to be the hermaphrodite nature of all the *flosculi*; though we are immediately after told, that in *O. incurvata* more female florets were found than hermaphrodite ones, and none but male ones in *O. corymbosa*. This appears to be contradictory. Of neither of these species the author has seen the seeds; nor had we an opportunity to observe them in the latter: but, in the former, we know them to be of an oval, plano-convex form, and crowned with some upright bristles. Besides these, and *Rottbœllia dimidiata* L., we find two other gramineæ described here, viz. *Olyra latifolia*, whose male flowers, contrary to what we learn from other authorities, are said to be furnished with a corolla; and *Lygeum Spartum*, of which, however, we possess already the excellent description and figure of Richard in the *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire Nat. de Paris*, though not added to the synonymy by the younger Gærtner. *Restio dichotomus*, described and figured as such in the second volume of this carpological work, is here referred to Thunberg's *Willdenowia*. As an example of a real Restio, *R. scariosus* is given, and the distinctive characters that separate the former genus from it are stated to consist, 1. in the female

female calyx being ſolitary, top-ſhaped, and compoſed of ſeveral ſcales; 2. in the uniform roſaceous corolla, furniſhed at its baſe with a proper ſpongy receptacle; and, 3. in the ſolitary nut exceeding the calyx four times in length. Nearly related to both theſe genera is *Elegia*, but ſufficiently diſtinct in having a capſular fruit of ſeveral cells. The annulated appearance of the ſeed of *Gahnia procera* is extremely remarkable; it reſembles the *larva* of an inſect, and is therefore termed *campomorphum*.

The ſecond plate (tab. 182.) contains the genera *Dilatris*, *Maſſonia*, *Renealmia*, *Arctopus*, *Eſcallonia*, *Coproſma*, and *Damnacanthus*. The laſt of theſe names, the compoſition of which we cannot help admiring, is given to a genus of the natural order of the *Rubiaceæ*. To judge from the fruit, (ſent by Thunberg as *Cariſſa ſpinarum*), it approaches but too near the *Canthium* of Lamarck. We avail ourſelves of this opportunity to obſerve, that the *Webera* of Schreber (*Rondeletia aſiatica* L.) is by no means a congener of *Canthium*, as Willdenow makes it; but how the former botaniſt came to deſcribe the fruit as containing only one ſeed, we are unable to tell: to us their number appeared to be from ſix to eight.

A very good and complete figure is given of the flowers and fruit of *Renealmia pendula*, a real *Tillandſia*; which latter generic name ought to have been retained by Dr Gærtner jun., the former being already given to a genus of the natural order of *Scitamineæ*. The ſeeds of this ſpecies (which, by the way, is not a nondeſcript, but the ſame with *Tillandſia nutans* of Swartz) are very ſingularly conſtructed: they appear wrapt up in a cloſe web of fibres, which, at the top, form a crown, improperly called *Pappus* by deſcribers, and at the baſe an appendage of the ſame nature as the crown, but with the fibres glued together ſo as to form a cone. Some obſervations might have been added reſpecting the ſpecies of this genus, which ſtands in great need of reexamination: the generic character, as here given, is certainly applicable to a few only, eſpecially as far as it relates to the fruit and ſeeds.

We were particularly deſirous to become better acquainted with the pericarp and ſeeds of *Eſcallonia*, in order to be enabled ſafely to fix its place in the natural ſeries; but all we learn here, in addition to what is known already by Smith's deſcription, is, that the diſſepiment of the berry appears cleft in the middle, and both the edges turned inward into one of the cells.

The deſcription and delineation of that ſingular vegetable *Arctopus echinatus*, is more ſatisfactory. The nature of its ſteril or male plant, is perhaps leſs involved in obſcurity, than it appears to our author. He ſays,

'Cum maſcula planta conſtantiſſime ſterilis ſit, licet quaternos aut quinos in ſingulo involucro habeat floſculos femineos, mirandum, unde

ſuam trahat originem formamque propriam? Nam vix credibile, quod pollen floſculorum maſculorum plantæ fertilis ſuas femellas impregnans, poſſit alias plantas producere, quam matribus ſuis ſimillimas. Ergo ſtatuendum, aut quod pollen ex planta ſterili, quandoque fecundet ovaria plantæ fertilis, unde proles a matre diverſa; aut quod pollen plantæ fertilis producere poſſit fœtus, in totum forma et deſtinatione diverſos: id quod autem miraculo foret proximum, quia hoc in caſu floſculi maſculi plantæ ſterilis præter omnem ſcopum atque neceſſitatem a natura fuiſſent producti. Habentur quidem exempla variarum plantarum ſexu et forma diverſarum, et tamen ab eodem polline productarum; ſed exemplum plantæ *perfectæ et ex naturæ inſtituto ſterilis*, iſtoque modo gignitæ, nullum, quod ſciam, habetur.'

The male plant in this caſe (by no means perfect, nor probably '*ex naturæ inſtituto ſterilis*,' being furniſhed with the rudiments of the female flowers) appears to be morbidly, though habitually, ſteril by abortion; a phenomenon obſervable in almoſt all the polygamous, and many of the dioecious plants. Nor is it unfrequent among plants that at firſt ſight appear to be really hermaphrodite; ſuch as ſeveral of the *Sapindi*, in which the ſtamina of the flowers of one ſtem will increaſe at the expence of the ovary, which ceaſes to grow; while thoſe of the female or fertile plant are found to contain incomplete anthers without any pollen. In the ſame manner, what appear complete ſtamina in the male flowers of the fertile plant of *Arctopus*, may poſſibly be imperfect, ſo that the influence of the other plant is requiſite in order to effect fecundation.

Coproſma is one of thoſe genera with whoſe fructification we are but little acquainted, even after the deſcription and figure here given of *C. lucida*, which, it may be remembered, does not appear to be that deſcribed by Forſter under this name. We perfectly agree with Dr Gærtner, that this genus belongs to the *Rubiaceæ*, and not to the *Umbelliferæ*; nor, indeed, do we know by whoſe ingenuity it has been referred to the latter natural order. As Mr Brown of this city has moſt probably met with ſeveral of its ſpecies, in his intereſting botanical expedition to New Holland, we may expect that this very acute naturaliſt will ſoon throw more light upon the hiſtory of the genus.

The two following plates (tab. 83. 84.) appear to us, more than the reſt of this number, in the ſtyle and ſpirit of thoſe of the preceding volumes; and, indeed, the ſpecimens from which the figures are made (except *Hydropityon*, on which we ſhall remark by and by) were ſo complete as to admit of that copiouſneſs in the deſcriptions, which conſtitutes the chief merit of that work. Though ſeveral of the plants they repreſent are far from being uncommon, ſuch as *Cyclamen europæum*, *Soldanella alpina*, *Illecebrum verticillatum*, *Coris*, *Glaux*, &c. yet their fruits and ſeeds were by

by no means ſo well underſtood as it might be expected. With regard to *Cyclamen*, for inſtance, we are even now uncertain whether its embryo be of one or two cotyledons. Dr Gærtner, the father, in deſcribing *Cycl. europæum*, makes no mention of theſe organs, though fig. *K*. in the plate repreſents ſomething like a dicotyledonous embryo; upon which his ſon has made the following remark.

'Embryo in hac ſtirpe admodum fallax eſt; in plurimis enim exemplis quæ pater defunctus ſcrutinio ſubjecit, ad unum omnes invenit totos ſolidos; quamvis omnes oculorum intenderit nervos, optimaſque adhibuerit lentes. Ex figura autem *K*, poſt deſcriptionem factam adjecta, elucet, ipſum tandem denique unicum ex centenis reperiiſſe *embryonem dicotyledoneum*, de quo autem in deſcriptione ne verbulum quidem fecit. Embryo itaque revera dicotyledoneus eſt, cotyledonibus autem, in plurimis exemplis, breviſſimis et vix ac nevix quidem diſcernibilibus.'

But ſhould we not rather ſuſpect, that the ſolitary obſervation alluded to was founded in an optical or accidental deception, and that the embryo of Cyclamen is really of one lobe only? The general habit of the genus (though furniſhed both with calyx and corolla) would appear to be in favour of this ſuppoſition.

We ſhall now ſay a word or two of ſome of the rarer plants contained in theſe two plates, and begin with *Hydropityon zeylanicum*. Its deſcription is deficient with regard to the interior ſtructure of the fruit and the ſeeds. From the generic character, however, and the figure, we are enabled to ſay, that the ſubjoined ſynonyms, of which the leading one is *Tsiunda-Tsiera Hort. Malab.* 12. *t.* 36, are all completely wrong. It cannot be doubted, that the plant juſt mentioned of the Hortus Malabaricus, is the *Hottonia indica* L., and that both, again, are the ſame with *Gratiola trifida*, an obſervation alſo made by the late Profeſſor Vahl in his 'Enumeratio Plantarum.' Though Gærtner could not know this, it is ſtill ſurpriſing that a botaniſt of his accuracy ſhould not have found out the diſſimilarity between his plant and that of Rhede's work, eſpecially as the latter is deſcribed as having only two ſtamina, and a corolla entirely different from that of *Hydropityon*. To enable our readers to judge for themſelves, we copy Gærtner's generic character.

'HYDROPITYON.—*Cal.* inferus, pentaphyllus: foliolis ovatis concavis magnis incumbentibus. *Cor.* pentapetala calyce paulo brevior: petalis ovato-rotundatis concavis. *Stam.* 10: filamentis craſſis brevibus, apice dorſo antherarum et baſi receptaculo genitalium carnoſo et molliter longeque villoſo inſertus: antheris obeſis cordatis bilocularibus. *Ovar.* ſuperum oblongum deſinens in *ſtylum* ſimplicem, *ſtigmate* orbiculato præpilatum. *Capſ.* monoſperma, aut ſemen nudum compreſſum ſulcatum.'

Both the figure and deſcription of *Dorœna japonica*, Thunb.

are very inſtructive. The dry berry (*angidium coriaceum*) of this plant has the peculiarity of being crowned at the top with five ſquamæ clinging cloſely to the ſtile, and conveying the idea of a *calyx ſuperus*. Were it not that this fruit has been communicated (as are almoſt all the reſt here deſcribed and figured) by Profeſſor Thunberg himſelf, we ſhould have doubted its being the plant taken up under that name in the *Flora Japonica*, where we looked in vain for the deſcription of the ſcales now mentioned; though, according to Gærtner, they conſtitute almoſt excluſively the eſſential character of the genus! Another genus of the Flora Japonica is *Deuzia*, whoſe place in the natural ſeries appears to be problematical. We are inclined to believe, in oppoſition both to Thunberg and Gærtner, that the calyx in this genus is really adherent; and, indeed, Kæmpfer ſpeaks of it as a 'Caliculus globoſus carnoſus, fructus futuri, ut apparet, rudimentum.' In the figure of *Torenia aſiatica*, the fruit is well enough repreſented; but the corolla, profeſſedly drawn from fancy, is objectionable both in regard to ſize and ſhape.

The laſt of thoſe five plates, which we conſider as the late Dr Gærtner's own, throws light on ſome fruits which were not well known before, ſuch as *Halleria lucida*, *Ouriſia* of Commerſon, and *Diſandra proſtrata*. But with regard to *Sarcodactylis*, contained in the ſame plate, our author labours under a ſtrange miſtake. Thoſe who have opportunities of ſeeing Chineſe drawings of vegetables, muſt have often met in them with a large, ſtrange looking yellow fruit, fantaſtically grown out at its widened top into fleſhy appendages, which bear a diſtant reſemblance to fingers, eſpecially if they are only five in number, which is often the caſe. This is nothing elſe than the fruit of a ſpecies of *Citrus*, and probably a monſtroſity; it contains no ſeeds, but is generally furniſhed with ſome irregular loculaments. The figure here given is undoubtedly that of ſuch a lemon, of the ſmaller ſort; but Dr Gærtner miſtakes it for the fruit of the famous hand-bearing plant, the *Macpalxochi-quahuitl* of the Mexicans, figured in Hernandez's work, from whence it is erroneouſly quoted by Linnæus as a ſynonym of his *Helicteres apetala*. To reconcile the diſſimilarity ſubſiſting between his figure and that of Hernandez, the author calls the latter '*miſerrima*;' an epithet which, however applicable it may be to moſt of the figures of that inſignificant work, is leſs ſo in this caſe. It gives a tolerably good idea of what it is intended to repreſent.

The five laſt plates preſent us with the firſt reſults of the younger Dr Gærtner's carpological tour and ſubſequent labours. They are ſeven genera, four of them entirely new, namely, *Shorea*, Roxb. MSS.; *Dryobalanops*, *Dipterocarpus*, and *Lophira*, Banks's MSS.

MSS. Their appearance is ſingularly beautiful, from the lucinia of the calyx growing out, after the flowering is over, into long wings, covering the pericarp, and of different ſhape in the different genera. The conſtruction of the embryo of the three former is remarkably complicated, but pretty well explained both by the deſcriptions and figures. With regard to his *Dryobalanops*, we notice two errors: firſt, this excellent timber-tree is not, as here ſtated, a native of Ceylon, but of Sumatra; and, ſecondly, it does not yield cinnamon, but camphor, known by the name of the Sumatra camphor, and mentioned by Kæmpfer, and alſo by Mr Marſden in his account of that iſland. Beſides theſe, we have *Vateria indica*, *Genipa americana*, and *Tocoyena* of Aublet. The firſt of theſe genera being referred by Retzius and his followers to *Elæocarpus*, affords another proof how little attention botaniſts pay to the fruit; for even Rhede's figure ſhews how little it has to do with that genus.

We cannot diſmiſs this work without expreſſing our wiſhes that no obſtacles may ariſe to its uninterrupted continuation; and, at the ſame time, exhorting its author not to ſacrifice to expedition the proper ſelection of his materials, or the accuracy of his delineations and engravings. Dr Gærtner cannot fail to know what anxious diligence his father beſtowed upon the latter, and that he was even in the habit of ſending proofs to London, for the inſpection of an eminent botanical artiſt then reſiding in that city.

ART. V. *On an Artificial Subſtance which poſſeſſes the principal Characteriſtic properties of Tannin.* By Charles Hatchett, Eſq. F. R. S.

Additional Experiments and Remarks on an Artificial Subſtance which poſſeſſes the principal Characteriſtic properties of Tannin. By the ſame Author. From Phil. Tranſ. for 1805. Part II.

WE have generally contented ourſelves with ſelecting from the memoirs of academies the papers moſt intereſting, either for novelty or merit, and have paſſed over the reſt, without attempting to give any account of their contents. In purſuance of this plan, we are now to direct the attention of our readers towards ſome of the moſt curious and important ſpeculations that are to be found in the late volumes of the Royal Society's Tranſactions. Much as Mr Hatchett has contributed to the advancement of chemical ſcience on former occaſions, we think the ſervices which theſe recent inquiries render to that branch

branch of knowledge, are of a different and a higher caſt. As they are contained in two papers, we have thought it right to take them together, and conſider them as parts of the ſame inveſtigation.

Before Mr Hatchett entered upon this courſe of experiments, it had never been ſuppoſed that tannin could be produced artificially. Mr Chenevix had indeed found, that a decoction of coffee berries had not the quality of precipitating gelatine, unleſs they were previouſly roaſted; and hence it might be concluded that the proceſs of burning produced tannin. But this was only an indiſtinct and imperfect inference, and we were ſtill left to regard tannin as excluſively prepared by nature. The inquiries of Mr Hatchett, however, place this matter in a new light, and warrant the concluſion, that if not tannin itſelf, at leaſt a body reſembling it in its chief characteriſtic properties, of precipitating gelatine, and rendering ſkins of animals inſoluble in water and imputreſcible, may be obtained by a ſimple proceſs, both from vegetable, mineral, and animal matter.

When nitrous acid is digeſted upon aſphaltum, jet, or other bitumens, containing a portion of uncombined carbonaceous matter, a yellow viſcid ſubſtance is ſeparated, perfectly ſimilar to that which we obtain by the ſame proceſs with reſins; but the remainder of the ſolution is a dark brown colour, and has different properties. The former conſiſts of the eſſential portion of the bitumen; the latter of the uncombined carbonaceous matter. A ſimilar product is obtained from the various kinds of mineral coal; but thoſe which contain no bitumen, yield none of the yellow ſolution. Having by this proceſs of digeſtion with nitrous acid, obtained the dark brown ſolutions from bitumens, coals, and charcoal, they were evaporated to dryneſs, and the reſidua examined. They reddened vegetable infuſions, were highly aſtringent, and ſeparated glue or iſinglaſs from their ſolution in water, forming a precipitate quite inſoluble, either in hot or cold water. A ſimilar product was obtained from digeſting iſinglaſs itſelf in nitric acid; and the ſolution of iſinglaſs in water being added to the ſubſtance procured from the digeſtion of iſinglaſs with acid, the iſinglaſs was precipitated from the water in an inſoluble form: uncharred wood, or even bovey coal, which had the appearance of being only half charred, yielded none of this ſubſtance by treatment with nitrous acid; but when charred, the ſame bodies gave it in great abundance.

Our author having been engaged in an intereſting courſe of experiments upon the production of coals in the humid way, he found, that by uniting the reſults of this inquiry with the proceſs

ceſs which forms the main ſubject of the preſent inveſtigation, much new light was thrown upon the latter. When ſulphuric acid, for example, is digeſted upon turpentine or reſin, the oxygen of the former uniting with the hydrogen and carbon of the latter, ſeverally, leaves the acid in the ſtate of ſulphureous acid, and produces water and coal. If the proceſs is carried on gradually, before the coal is obtained, we get ſucceſſively yellow reſin, brown reſin, and black reſin. Now, Mr Hatchett digeſted with nitric acid, firſt turpentine itſelf, then theſe three reſins obtained from the treatment of turpentine with ſulphuric acid, and laſtly, the coal which is formed at the cloſe of the ſame proceſs. Neither the turpentine, nor the yellow nor the brown reſin, gave any of the tanning ſubſtance; the black reſin yielded a conſiderable portion of it, and the coal a great abundance. Other ſubſtances, reduced to coal by the ſame proceſs, yielded the tanning reſiduum with equal facility; as various woods, copal, amber and wax. Nor is the treatment with nitrous acid the only method of obtaining this tanning ſubſtance, from coals made in the humid way. For after reſins have been long digeſted with ſulphuric acid, ſo as to give coal, if they are then digeſted with alcohol, a ſolution is obtained, which conſiſts in part of the ſubſtance in queſtion. Our author ingeniouſly conjectures, that ſome proceſs of this ſort takes place naturally in ſeveral formations of peat; and thus accounts for the complete tanning which is frequently found to go on in thoſe moſſes where animal bodies have been buried.

The ſubſtance reſembling tannin, which our author's experiments yielded, was employed with perfect ſucceſs in tanning ſkins. This operation he effected with eaſe, by means of ſawduſt, pit-coal, wax-candle, part of the ſkin itſelf, and various other materials, not hitherto ſuſpected of ſubſerviency to ſuch a proceſs.

The only property in which this artificial ſubſtance ſeems at firſt ſight to differ from tannin, is, that the former is produced by means of nitric acid; whereas, the latter is deſtroyed by it. In order to examine the particulars of this diverſity, our author inſtituted ſeveral experiments. The artificial ſubſtance was ſubjected to repeated diſtillations with nitric acid, and found to remain unchanged. The precipitate of gelatine by the artificial ſubſtance, was waſhed and dried, and then digeſted in nitric acid, which acted powerfully on it, and formed a dark ſolution with evolution of nitrous gas. The ſolution being evaporated to dryneſs, and diſſolved in water, was found to have the ſame action on iſinglaſs, acetite of lead, &c. as the ſubſtance which had not undergone theſe operations. The ſolutions of this ſubſtance,

ſtance, are alſo quite indeſtructible by the putrefactive proceſs. Nor do they become mouldy like thoſe of galls, ſumach, &c. But are there no varieties in point of deſtructibility among the different ſorts of natural tannin? Our author thinks that his experiments entitle him to anſwer this queſtion in the affirmative. For having compared, in this reſpect, the ſolutions obtained from galls, ſumach, oak-wood and oak-bark, he found that the laſt was much leſs deſtructible by treatment with nitrous acid, than the other three, though the artificial product was ſtill leſs affected by the acid than any.

The artificial ſubſtance hitherto conſidered, owes its origin to digeſtion of nitric acid upon charcoal, whether of animal, vegetable, or mineral bodies. But it appears that a ſimilar product may be obtained from the exhibition of this acid to bodies not in a charred or coally ſtate; and that the proceſs of charring only aſſiſts the production of the tanning ſubſtance, by favouring the ſeparation of the carbonaceous particles from the other ingredients of the maſs. Our author aſcertained this important point by well conducted experiments, firſt with indigo, a body known to contain a large portion of carbon. Nitric acid acted violently upon this ſubſtance; and the application of a gentle heat was employed to evaporate the ſolution: The reſiduum being diſſolved in water, was found to contain a large tincture of the tanning ſubſtance; other bodies, though in a leſs degree, yet ſenſibly yield the ſame product, by repeated digeſtions and diſtillations with nitric acid. Thus, common reſin, ſtick lac, balſam of Peru, benzoin, balſam of Tolu, all gave the tanning ſubſtance by digeſtion with nitric acid; and from theſe experiments, and others which he details with a variety of different bodies, our author is induced to think, that there are very few vegetable ſubſtances from which a quantity of the tanning compound may not be obtained, by means of the ſame acid properly exhibited to them.

Many vegetable ſubſtances yield by decoction, after being roaſted, a liquor reſembling tannin; but Mr Hatchett found it very difficult to apply the preciſe degree of heat which is required to develope whatever tannin they may contain. Even coffee did not yield a precipitate till ſome time had elapſed, and then it was ſoluble in boiling water; but what he calls a 'coffee prepared from the chicoric root,' gave a precipitate, ſoluble indeed in boiling water, but reproduced when the water cooled. All theſe decoctions, when treated with nitric acid, yielded a tanning ſubſtance ſimilar to that obtained in the former courſe of experiments.

From the whole it appears, that the artificial ſubſtance reſembling tannin may be produced in three ſeveral ways, by digeſtion of

of nitric acid on any carbonaceous ſubſtance, animal, vegetable, or mineral; by diſtilling the ſame acid from indigo, reſins, and various other ſubſtances; by treating reſin, camphor, &c. with alcohol, after they have previouſly been digeſted with ſulphuric acid. Of theſe three methods, the firſt is that which produces the ſubſtance moſt eaſily, and in the greateſt abundance, a hundred grains of vegetable charcoal yielding about 116 of the ſubſtance.

The properties of the body in queſtion are juſtly deemed by Mr Hatchett to be very ſingular. Not only its entire reſemblance to tannin, except in its relation to nitric acid, but ſeveral other particulars in its habitudes, merit our notice. If a portion of this ſubſtance, procured from pure vegetable charcoal, be expoſed dry to the action of heat, it emits an odour reſembling that of burnt feathers, horn, and other animal bodies. If it is expoſed in a retort to the diſtilling proceſs, a red heat ſends off the ſuperfluous moiſture, and nitrous fumes alſo riſe into the retort; when the heat is puſhed higher, a white cloud ſuddenly fills the apparatus, ſaline matter is found on the retort, and gas eſcapes, almoſt with explosive force. This is evidently cauſed by the evolution of ammoniacal gas, which unites with the nitrous fumes, and forms, as uſual, a cloud of nitrate of ammonia. Hence the artificial ſubſtance conſiſts of hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, with a baſe of carbon; and, as our author had taken every precaution to exclude impurities from the charcoal employed in his experiments for obtaining the ſubſtance upon which he operated, he was led to infer, with much confidence, as a corollary from the experiments laſt mentioned, that hydrogen exiſts in charcoal; but further conſideration, he admits, had induced him to ſuſpend this judgment; for he has always found the dilution of the nitric acid employed in his experiments favour in an eminent degree the formation of the tanning ſubſtance; and this would ſeem to indicate, that the hydrogen which goes to the compoſition of that body owes its origin to the water.

The different varieties of this ſubſtance exhibit ſome little diverſity of properties. That which is obtained from carbonaceous bodies, by digeſtion with nitrous acid, is much more abundantly produced than either of the other ſpecies; the precipitates which it yields with gelatine are of a deep brown colour, while the colour of the ſecond variety is bright yellow; both theſe varieties are more powerful in their action upon ſkin than the third, which, moreover, ſeems not to contain any nitrogen; at leaſt, ſuch is our author's inference from conſidering the manner of its formation; and by this deficiency in its compoſition he thinks its

its inferior ſtrength may be explained. But upon theſe matters he promiſes a further communication.

We have little to add upon the ſubſtance, as we have now given it, of theſe ſpeculations. Their importance can as little be queſtioned as their general accuracy and ſolidity. We are diſpoſed to view the diſcovery of Mr Hatchett as one of the moſt valuable that have been for many years preſented to the chemical world, whether we view it as introducing us to the knowledge of a new body, or as ſhewing how, in all probability, a known ſubſtance is elaborated by Nature in the proceſs of vegetation. By proſecuting theſe intereſting inquiries, we are ſanguine in our hopes that much light will be thrown upon the phyſiology of plants; and entertain very little doubt that Mr Hatchett is on the eve of an improvement, perhaps the moſt valuable that has been made in the uſeful arts in modern times.

ART. VI. *Journal des Mines, publié par l'Agence des Mines de la République.* No. I. 8vo. Paris. An 3.

THE plan of this periodical publication, the maſs of important and accurate information which it contains, and the laudable zeal for the proſecution of ſcientific and practical mineralogy which we truſt it will excite in our own country, have induced us to give a ſhort account of it from the commencement of the ſeries. It cannot be expected, however, that we ſhould dwell on many of the articles ſeparately. Thoſe, for example, which require the illuſtration of plates, or are already too compreſſed, or are copied from other works, or which, from their nature, are not ſuſceptible of abridgement or analyſis, we ſhall not regard as belonging to our cognizance. Thus we are compelled to paſs in ſilence various deſcriptions of machinery; ſome excellent cryſtallographical papers by Haüy, &c.; delineations of ſubterraneous workings; ſections of local ſtratification; the condenſed forms of ſeveral valuable memoirs; intereſting analytical reſults obtained by Klaproth, Vauquelin and others, and which are now generally known through other channels; various extracts and tranſlations from the tranſactions of learned bodies, and from foreign or domeſtic publications; and ſuch communications as are of a ſtrictly technical or tabular aſpect.

As our intention is rather to give our readers an idea of the plan on which the work proceeds, and to invite thoſe whom it may concern to peruſe its contents, than to ſcrutinize its merits with critical minuteneſs, we ſhall even abſtain from the mode of diſquiſition in reporting ſuch articles as have chiefly attracted our attention,

attention, and ſhall, in moſt caſes, be contented with intimating their object and principal reſults.

In the moſt ſtormy and eventful period of the French revolution, the Committee of Public Safety inſtituted a Board of Mines, conſiſting of three members. Subordinate to them were eight inſpectors, twelve engineers, and forty pupils. The annual ſalary of the inſpectors was fixed at 6000 livres, of the engineers at 3000, and of the pupils at 1500, not including travelling expences. The inſpectors and engineers were propoſed by the members of the Board, and approved by the Committee of Safety; and the nomination of the pupils was determined by a public comparative trial. Inſpectors, engineers, and pupils were enjoined to travel eight months in the year, and to reſide the remaining four at Paris. Two pupils were aſſigned by lot to each inſpector and engineer, to accompany them on their profeſſional miſſion. The French territory, in regard to the mining department, was divided into eight circles. To the annual ſurvey of each circle one inſpector and one engineer were appointed by lot; and each of theſe officers examined the ſame circle for two ſucceſſive years. The four ſupernumerary engineers were deſtined to replace ſuch of their colleagues as happened to be indiſpoſed, or employed by government in other functions.

The principal duties required of the inſpectors and engineers in their mineralogical tours, were the viſitation of mines, the communication of uſeful advice to the directors of the works, and inſpection of the machinery, &c. with regard to ſolidity and the ſafety of the workmen. They were, moreover, inſtructed to viſit founderies, and all eſtabliſhments connected with the mining art, and to favour the directors of ſuch eſtabliſhments with ſuitable hints and ſuggeſtions. They were particularly deſired to inſtruct their pupils, and to give them practical leſſons on all matters connected with their profeſſion. Beſides collecting ſpecimens of all the foſſil ſubſtances contained in the circle, and forwarding the collection, with proper catalogues, to the Board at Paris, they were requeſted to ſketch plans of their diſcoveries; to detail the practical operations which obtain in founderies and manufactories connected with mining; to make drawings of machines, furnaces, and of the modes of working under ground; to keep a regiſter of their travelling ſtations, and of the ſubſtances which they found, and the experiments which they made at each; and to tranſmit their memoirs, journals, and drawings, once in ten days, to the Board. When they diſcovered any foſſil ſubſtance which could be turned to good account, they were to invite the proprietors of the ground, or, in their default, the neareſt inhabitants, to work it, and to afford them every encouragement, aſ-

ſiſtance,

ſiſtance, and facility in their power. During their reſidence in Paris, they were to meet twice in the decade, and furniſh the Board with ſuch information and documents as might be wanted, diſcuſs queſtions relative to propoſed improvements, and prepare plans for increaſing the quantity and produce of mining labour. In the intervals of theſe conferences, they were to be occupied in reviſing and digeſting the obſervations which they had noted in their journeys, in conducting the conſequent experiments, in committing to writing newly introduced improvements, and in analyzing ſpecimens which the Board might judge it proper to ſubmit to their examination.

In addition to thoſe details, the inſpectors were charged to read gratuitous and public lectures twice in the decade, from 16th Brumaire to 14th Pluvioſe, on mineralogy and phyſical geography, on the extraction and aſſaying of ores, and on the various operations of metallurgy.

The houſe allotted to the conferences and courſes of inſtruction, was to be furniſhed with an appropriate library, collections of models, plans, and drawings, an aſſaying laboratory, and a mineral cabinet, containing ſpecimens of all the known foſſil productions of the globe, and eſpecially of thoſe of the republic, arranged according to their localities.

The members of the Board had alſo their line of conduct diſtinctly pointed out, as appears by the following reſolutions of the Committee of Public Safety.

'II. This Board will take cognizance of the inſpectors, engineers, and pupils of mines.

'III. The Board will correſpond directly with all the leſſees and workers of mines.

'IV. It will direct its attention to the extraction of metallic ores of every deſcription; to the various modes of treating them; to the requiſite inſtructions for determining the nature and the working of all ſorts of earths and ſtones; to the procuring of combuſtible foſſils, as pit-coal, jet, petroleum, turf, ſulphur, &c. and to their preparation; to the manufacture of muriate of ſoda, or common ſalt, whether obtained from rock-ſalt in the bowels of the earth, or from ſaline ſprings and ſea-water; to the extraction, preparation, and purifying of foſſil ſalts and metallic oxydes, ſuch as the ſulphates of ſoda, magneſia, alumina, zinc, iron, copper, and the oxydes of lead, copper, iron, &c. except ſaltpetre and potaſs.

'V. It will prepare, with the leaſt poſſible delay, diſtinct expoſitions of every thing relative to the exiſtence and working of mines, and tranſmit them regularly to the Commiſſioners for Arms.

'VI. It will propoſe to theſe Commiſſioners the leaſes to be granted, the advances to be made, and the encouragements to be given, that the Commiſſioners may ſubmit them to the Committee of Public Safety.

'VII.

'VII. It will publiſh a Journal of Mines, agreeably to the terms of a proſpectus, which ſhall be approved by the ſaid Committee.'

By another order, it is provided, that the inſpectors and engineers ſhall furniſh memoirs and drawings, to be inſerted in the Journal.

Thus, we ſee, that the volumes now under conſideration only form a part of a great and patriotic ſcheme, of which we have merely traced the outline, and which, ſince its commencement, has received various modifications, and given birth to much able and uſeful diſcuſſion. However much we may diſapprove of the direct interference of Government in matters of private right, and though we muſt reprobate the coercive regulations impoſed on the colliers who ſupply the Pariſian market, we can entertain little doubt, that a National Council of Mines, veſted with limited powers, and acting from pure and enlightened motives, would greatly contribute to promote the induſtry and the reſources of a people already bleſſed with rational freedom, with capital, and with aptitude to habits of mechanical operations. When we reflect on the comparative poverty of our neighbours, on the levity of their diſpoſitions, and on the long ſeries of public calamities in which they have been involved, it is not a little ſurpriſing that they ſhould exhibit to Europe ſo ſtriking an example of patience, diligence, and talents, ſucceſsfully directed to thoſe purſuits which are uſually ſuppoſed to imply years of peace, wealth, and leiſure.

We have likewiſe to remark, that the proceedings of the French mineralogiſts, as recorded in theſe pages, breathe a moſt commendable ſpirit of frankneſs and confidence, remote from thoſe national jealouſies and thoſe individual ſuſpicions which have long hid treaſures from the public eye, and concealed, for the benefit of a few, thoſe diſcoveries which might conduce to the comfort of the many. The foſſil contents of each diſtrict, ſo far as they have been aſcertained, the inventions of new machines, and the diſcovery of proceſſes by which labour is abridged, its produce multiplied, or valuable reſults are obtained, have been generouſly expoſed to all who can profit by the information.

In another point of view, the labours of thoſe gentlemen have ſtrong claims on our approbation. So far, at leaſt, as our examination has yet extended, no paper of a merely theoretical complexion, has been inſerted in their Numbers; but the object of all, is either to eſtabliſh facts, or to convey knowledge which may be directly converted to ſome uſeful purpoſe. He who ſurveys the ſuperficial ſtructure of our globe, in the ſpirit of candid and diſpaſſionate inquiry, will probably ſoon perceive the futility of all thoſe ſyſtems of world-making, which have been propounded with ſo much pomp and confidence, but which are ſo inadequate

to the ſolution of many of the moſt common phenomena. The intelligent and unbiaſſed geologiſt is he who aims to accumulate accurate obſervations, and who is contented to admire when he cannot comprehend. The careful peruſal of ſuch a work as that now before us, will naturally ſhake our belief either in the Aqueous or Igneous theory, and leave us at liberty to widen the baſis of our inductive reaſonings, or, perhaps, to wait, in wholeſome ſcepticiſm, the iſſue of that rapid progreſs in chemical knowledge, which may, one day, unveil ſome of the myſteries which every where encompaſs our path.

That the publication in queſtion contains no irrelevant matter, it were vain to contend. Declamatory alluſions to French triumphs, and to French *liberty*, have ſometimes interrupted our purſuit of a metallic vein: but vanity is the paſſion of the nation; and we muſt confeſs, that, in a work conducted under the immediate auſpices of the Government, we had laid our account with more frequent inſtances of ſimilar intruſions.

On ſome occaſions, we have regretted the ambiguity or abſurdity of the ſtyle; on others, an over condenſation of the materials. A few of the communications have appeared trifling, and a few evidently erroneous; the diſplay of machinery is far from brilliant, and by no means what we might expect from the profound manner in which the theory of mechanics has been inveſtigated in France; and, laſtly, the extracts from other works denote neither latitude of range, nor peculiar felicity of ſelection. Yet, after all theſe abatements, we have ſtill to learn that there exiſts any other work which, in the ſame bulk, comprizes the ſame quantity of authentic and valuable information on the ſubjects which it profeſſes to expound.

But it is now time to ſay ſomething of the particular contributions; only premiſing, that, from the detached nature of the eſſays, our remarks muſt unavoidably aſſume a very deſultory form.

The mineralogical deſcription of the Boulonais is one of the many proofs of the anxiety with which the French now ſearch for coal. It does not appear, however, that their public-ſpirited efforts in this diſtrict have been attended with the deſired ſucceſs. The old workings will, in all probability, be ſoon exhauſted. The coal, alſo, which is obtained from them, is very liable to decompoſition, and, ſometimes, to ſpontaneous inflammation in the atmoſphere. This portion of country likewiſe contains various beds of black, brown, and gray marble. A vertical vein, of three or four feet in thickneſs, and of the ſame quality with the horizontal layers, traverſes them all, without deranging their poſition. This geological phenomenon is only noticed incidentally, the paper being abridged from the communications of Duhamel, Monnet, and

and Mallet, officers of mines; and from those of Treſſet, of the commune of Boulogne, with a view to economical purpoſes.

The 'Sketch of mineral ſubſtances worked in France, and of their commercial value previous to the revolution,' would, if properly treated, have formed an intereſting memoir: but it is vague and ſuperficial, and has little reference to the title till towards the concluſion. We are then informed that the balance of trade, in mineral commodities, was, in 1787, againſt France, 36,569,000 livres. Gillet's table of the mineral ſubſtances exported and imported during that year is annexed, and forms a curious ſtatiſtical document.

On the ſubject of 'Peat-earth' we meet with ſome important details from Meſſrs Girond, Blavier, Ribaucourt, &c. The increaſing ſcarcity of fuel has recently turned the attention of the public to the ſtate of the turbaries in various parts of the country; and the turf which was formerly deſpiſed or unobſerved, now becomes an object of eager ſearch. Beſides the extenſive moraſſes along the Somme and the Eſſonne, which ſeem to have been uſed at an early period, many other ſituations are enumerated, in which this combuſtible ſubſtance is found in greater or leſs abundance.

So far back as the beginning of the 17th century, the induſtrious and ingenious M. Lamberville introduced the charring of peat into France. The Dutch were acquainted with the proceſs long prior to that date; but, owing to the uſe of coal, it has been little attended to in Great Britain. In thoſe diſtricts of our iſland, however, in which no coal has been found, and particularly in the Highlands of Scotland, the ſubject of peat-moſſes cannot be too minutely inveſtigated. For the preſent, we ſhall forbear making any extracts from theſe communications, in the hope that the Highland Society, or ſome other patriotic corporation, will give directions for tranſlating the whole, or at leaſt the moſt important paſſages.

The 'Obſervations on the Salt-ſprings of Salins, by Haſſenfratz,' we have peruſed with pleaſure. According to this ingenious chemiſt, the higheſt hills which ſurround Salins are of primitive limeſtone, which is very hard, mixed with clay, and has a teſtaceous fracture, but contains no ſhells. Contiguous to theſe hills are others, compoſed of limeſtone of ſecondary formation, and abounding with ſhells. In this ſecondary limeſtone are found maſſes and thin layers of gypſum, which is quarried in different places. There are three diſtinct ſalt-ſprings, the ſtrongeſt of which contains 23 per cent. of ſalt, and the weakeſt only 1. As not only the quantity, but alſo the ſtrength of theſe ſources is increaſed very ſoon after rain, it is inferred that they proceed from ſome natural magazine of rock-ſalt in the neigh-

bourhood. M. Haüy very properly remarks, that a conſiderable quantity of fuel might be ſaved, by allowing theſe waters to paſs through the dripping-houſes till reduced to ſaturation. In a ſubſequent paper, the ſame author ſuggeſts ſome expedients for the farther economy of the heat employed in the evaporating proceſs, particularly the addition of ſmall pans near the large one, to give employment to the ſuperfluous flame. By placing theſe ſupplementary veſſels a little above each other, ſo as to be conveniently emptied with ſyphons, the water might be gradually heated as it came from the reſervoir, and gradually part with the ſelenite and ſulphate of ſoda, which it holds in ſolution.

'Hiſtory of the Decompoſition of Common Salt,' &c. This paper manifeſts the ingenuity of its authors. But, until cheaper modes of obtaining ſoda, than thoſe here recommended, can be pointed out, it will be adviſeable not to renounce the incineration of ſuch vegetables as are known to yield this important article of commerce. On this part of the ſubject ſome valuable hints may be gleaned from the notes. The manufacture of kelp on our ſhores is ſuſceptible of much extenſion and improvement. Excluſively of various ſpecies of *algæ*, ſome of our maritime plants are known to contain the fixed mineral alkali in ſuch a proportion as to render them objects of culture. We may mention, in particular, Salicornia herbacea, S. fruticoſa, Salſola kali, and Chenopodium maritimum. It even appears from Lorgna's obſervations, that ſome of the thiſtle tribe, particularly the artichoke, yield a conſiderable quantity of the ſame ſubſtance, when reared on the ſea-ſhore. We preſume, then, to indulge the pleaſing hope, that waſte tracts of coaſt may be ſpeedily transformed into productive ſoil.

'Of Fires in Coal Pits.' Under this title the ordinary cauſes of ſuch fires, and the ordinary means of extinguiſhing them, are judiciouſly indicated by the Conference of Mines. The following hint, however, has at leaſt the merit of novelty. 'Perhaps ſome method may be deviſed of procuring at pleaſure, and in a ſufficient quantity, the carbonic gas, the ſimple contact of which quickly extinguiſhes flame. Difficulties might ſtill occur in the firſt attempts to introduce and convey it round the ignited maſs; but the ſcience of mechanics is now too well underſtood, not to inſure ſucceſs.'

The two memoirs 'on the Mineralogy of the Department of Mont Blanc,' are principally occupied with accounts of mines which were already known. Sauſſure's notices of the iron mine of St George in Maurienne, is not the leaſt intereſting of theſe details. As an inſtance of the poverty of the forgemen, he paints one of them, with grey hairs and tattered garments, who

was

was preparing his dinner. 'This dinner consisted of a large *crow*, which he was plucking by the dim light of the embers of his furnace. On the same embers his pot was boiling; and he every now and then dipped his crow into it, that he might soften and pluck his morsel with the greater ease. What a fine subject for the pencil of Teniers!'

'The Mineralogical Report of the Department of the Channel' presents us with little deserving of particular notice. Both the lead and quicksilver mines have been repeatedly abandoned; and a deficiency of coal renders the propriety of their resumption still problematical. The preparation of salt from sea-sand, which, we understand, is practised on a small scale in a corner of Dumfriesshire, is, in this department, conducted on a more extensive and beneficial plan.

M. Duhamel's prize memoir 'on Coal,' even in the form of an abstract, presents us with several important results, but which have by no means the attraction of novelty to British mineralogists.

M. Girard enters into a long, learned, and plausible disquisition 'on the present, past, and *future* State of the Valley of Somme.' His reasonings rest on the supposition that France and England were once joined by an isthmus; that the tides rose to a much greater height on the coasts of Picardy and the Boulonais than they do at present; and that the turbaries of the valley of Somme were gradually deposited, and formed in a large lake, at a period when the river had not found its present issue.

'General Observations on the Nature of the Carpathian Mountains in Upper Hungary, &c. By Citizen Lefebvre, Member of the Board of Mines.' It appears from this rapid survey, that the first, or most elevated chain of these mountains, consists of granite, which is frequently covered with calcareous masses; that the second chain is chiefly formed of a compound primitive rock, consisting of alternate bands of quartz and mica, though mountains strictly granitical also occur; and that the third chain is mostly composed of a species of porphyry or jasper, interspersed with minute crystals of feldspar and mica. In this last chain are situated the celebrated mines of Kremnitz, Schemnitz, &c. which give employment to twenty thousand individuals, and produce gold, silver, lead, and copper. At Schemnitz, which lies nearest the centre of these extensive workings, the Empress Maria Theresa established a mineralogical academy, which vies with that of Freyberg, and to which individuals from all countries resort to be instructed in the arts of mining and metallurgy. In the porphyry mountains are likewise found calcareous masses and thermal waters. But the red

ſchorl, ſo much coveted by the mineralogiſt, occurs in a mountain of the ſecond chain.

'The mountain which contained this red ſchorl appeared to me remarkable on account of its ſtructure; the circumjacent hills being all compoſed of gneiſs, or primitive ſlaty rock, whereas it differs from them in the arrangement of its conſtituent parts. The quartz and the mica, in place of being depoſited in alternate and nearly parallel layers, have formed identical maſſes. It is thus that the quartz occurs in large portions, imbedded in very thick layers of flexible mica, that is greaſy to the touch like talc. Sometimes nothing but theſe layers of mica is to be ſeen, and diſpoſed either in a horizontal, or almoſt perpendicular direction, or even winding, and preſenting no uniformity of poſition.

'I have remarked with aſtoniſhment, blocks of granite on the ſurface of this mountain; but, as I have not ſeen it in a continuous maſs, I am inclined to believe that theſe blocks are foreign to the mountain, and that they have been conveyed to it from the higher chain by the waters.

'This obſervation, however, applies not to the quartz, which obviouſly enters into the compoſition of the mountain, and is of contemporaneous formation with the layers of mica. The fracture of theſe quartzy maſſes frequently reveals thin layers of mica, which were apparent on the outſide, and which have been enveloped in the confuſed cryſtallization of the quartz.

'Though our reſearches and obſervations about this mountain occupied two entire days, we could diſcover the red ſchorl only in one ſpot, at the baſe. We firſt obſerved it in the quartz, running along in a very narrow band, and uniformly directed from *north-eaſt* to *ſouth-weſt*, as if it had been a metallic vein. The quartz in which it occurred preſented, on inſpection, no character different from thoſe of the ſmaller maſſes which compoſe the mountain. After we had dug two or three fathoms in a ſtraight line, the quartz diſappeared. On meeting with the micaceous layers, we feared that we had loſt the ſchorl, but after an attentive ſearch we found it again, obſerving the ſame direction which it had in the quartz, and for the moſt part preſenting even larger priſmatic faſciculi. We remarked, at conſiderable intervals, ſome ſmall blocks of quartz incaſed in the layers of mica, and containing alſo ſchorl in their ſubſtance, though not a trace of it was diſcernible on their ſurface, &c. In the courſe of a few fathoms the ſchorl vein completely vaniſhed, and could not be retraced.'

The continuation of this Journal, which has now reached us, will claim our attention in ſome future article. In the mean while, we ſhall be happy if we can be at all inſtrumental in giving its contents greater publicity, and in thus contributing, even indirectly, to excite a ſpirit of reſearch into the ſubterraneous reſources of our own country.

ART.

ART. VII. *The History of the Orkney Islands: In which is comprehended an Account of their present as well as their ancient State; together with the Advantages they possess for several Branches of Industry, and the Means by which they may be improved. Illustrated with an accurate and extensive Map of the whole Islands, and with Plates of some of the most interesting Objects they contain.* By the Reverend George Barry, D. D. Minister of Shapinshay. 4to. pp. 509. Constable & Co. Edinburgh. Longman & Co. London. 1805.

WE consider this plain and unpretending volume as an accession of no inconsiderable value to the topography and statistics of the British Islands. It has been compiled with great diligence and labour, and contains a mass of curious information relative to a very interesting and neglected part of the empire. It is amazing, indeed, how little is known by their fellow-subjects of England, of those remote and disconnected fragments of our territory and population, and how much better acquainted we are, in general, with the Sandwich and Philippine islands, than with those of Shetland or Orkney. To most of our readers, therefore, the account contained in this volume should have all the recommendation of novelty, and should interest them much in the same way with the description of a newly discovered country. In spite of this attraction, however, we are afraid there is too much science and sobriety in Dr Barry's manner of writing, to let his work be very popular with the general reader. The naturalist and the antiquary will probably relish it better: and, at all events, as it is the first tolerable account that has yet been laid before the public of these interesting regions, we think no apology necessary for presenting our readers with a pretty full account of it.

The first book presents us with 'a view of the islands, considered as a whole, combined with a geographical description of each.'

'These islands are situated in the Northern Ocean, between Caithness and Shetland, from the former of which they are distant only about four, and from the latter nearly twenty leagues. The latitude of Kirkwall, the centre, is fifty-nine degrees and nine minutes north, and the longitude two degrees and thirty minutes west, from the meridian of Greenwich.' Viewed as a whole, these islands are high and precipitous towards the west, but slope, and sink into level plains, towards the east, especially those which are distinguished by the name of the North Isles. We think the fact may be accounted for by the position of the strata, which generally rise towards the west or

ſouth-weſt, and dip, or are inclined, towards the eaſt or north-eaſt. The late Dr Walker, we believe, was the firſt who obſerved that iſlands and continents are generally high on the weſt, but form ſlopes or plains towards the eaſt. This ſeems to prove a general conformity in the poſition of the mineral ſtrata, though the cauſe of this conformity is unknown to us.

From the ſimilarity of the points of Berey in Waas, and Dunnet in Caithneſs, and the general correſpondence of the rocks and ſoils on the oppoſite ſides of the Pentland Frith, our author concludes that the Orkneys were probably joined, at ſome remote period, to the Mainland of Scotland: and alſo, that the iſlands themſelves had been formerly united into one unbroken continent.

We admit that there are very ſtrong reaſons for adopting this concluſion; but we ſee no reaſon to have recourſe, with our author (p. 8.), to the action of ſubterraneous fire, to account for the diſmemberment of the Orkney iſlands. In ſeveral parts of Caithneſs, where the ſtrata are interſected by veins of ſoft matter, the ſea, by working them out, has made deep inlets into the land, and ſometimes ruſhes, with terrible impetuoſity, by ſubterraneous paſſages, from one ſide of a promontory to another. We are therefore inclined to think, that the Pentland Frith, and the ſounds which ſeparate the iſlands, were originally occupied by ſoft ſubſtances, which the force of the water has waſhed away. In proof of this we may obſerve, that all the remaining rocks on each ſide are extremely hard, and well calculated to reſiſt its attacks. The Old Man of Hoy, a ſtupendous pyramidal rock, ſituated a few hundred yards to the weſt of that diſtrict of Waas, though not noticed by our author, forms an illuſtration of this doctrine. It is evidently compoſed of the ſame ſandſtone with the neighbouring rocks; and as theſe riſe towards the weſt, this pyramid is ſeen from a great diſtance to overlook the neighbouring hills, and is among the higheſt pinnacles in Orkney. It has evidently been joined to the neighbouring rocks by ſofter ſtrata, which the ſea has gradually corroded and worn away.

The ſoil in Orkney, though ſhallow, is generally fertile, and our author is much at a loſs (p. 10.) to account for this fact. We obſerved, that the moſt prevailing rock is a ſpecies of calcareous ſandſtone flag, of a blue, or bluiſh grey, colour. The ſoil formed by the decompoſition of this ſtone contains a portion of carbonate of lime, which renders it fertile.

The climate, on the whole, is temperate, the range of the thermometer being from 25° to 75°, and that of the barometer within three inches. The medium temperature of ſprings is 45°. The moſt prevailing wind is the ſouth-weſt; the moſt diſagreeable and unhealthy

unhealthy the ſouth-eaſt. Snow is rare, and never lies long: the winter is more diſtinguiſhed by heavy rains. For about two weeks, and ſometimes more, about the middle of June, the wind almoſt invariably blows from the north, accompanied with ſnow and hail ſhowers, of ſuch violence as to check vegetation, and drive the domeſtic animals to ſeek ſhelter. The author, with much probability, (p. 13.) imputes this ſeemingly unnatural cold to the melting of the ice in the northern ocean, and conſequent evaporation. About 40 years ago, the north wind brought what the people called *black ſnow*, which ſtruck them with terror and aſtoniſhment, until it was diſcovered that the black ſnow was aſhes thrown out by an eruption of Hecla in Iceland. Another peculiarity is, that thunder and lightning ſeldom occur, even during the warmeſt weather, in ſummer, but are frequent during tempeſtuous weather, with rain, hail, and ſnow in winter.

'The greateſt rapidity of the ſpring-tides, even in thoſe channels where they run quickeſt, is nine miles in an hour, and the neap-tides have only about a fourth part of that velocity.' p. 15.

We do not pretend to call in queſtion the accuracy of this calculation; but we have frequently ſeen veſſels enter the Pentland Frith with a ſtrong breeze a-ſtern; and, upon meeting the tide, we have ſeen them ſtopped, and afterwards carried back, with all their ſails ſet, by the violence of the current.

The ſecond chapter contains a geographical deſcription of the iſlands. They were firſt mentioned by Pomponius Mela; and ancient authors differ exceedingly with regard to their number and extent. The late Mr Mackenzie, from actual ſurvey, aſcertained their number to be no fewer than ſixty-ſeven, of which only twenty-nine are inhabited. The remaining thirty-eight, called Holms, are of ſmall ſize, and have always been appropriated to paſturage. Beſides all theſe, there are ſeveral which are overflowed at high water, have ſcarcely any ſoil, and are called *Skerries*, which indicates ſharp, ragged rocks.

Moſt of the names of theſe iſlands terminate in *a*, *ay*, or *ey*, which our author thinks, in the Gothic language,* denoted an iſland of large extent; while Holm implied one that was ſmaller, and only fit for paſturage. We rather think that Holm means hollow or flat land.

The iſlands have been immemorially divided into north and ſouth iſles, from their poſition in reſpect of the Mainland, or more probably of Kirkwall, which, for many ages, has been conſidered as their capital.

The ſonorous name of *Pomona* affixed to the largeſt iſland, or Mainland, as it is called, has exerciſed the ingenuity of etymologiſts. Our author (p. 20.) thinks it is compounded of 'two Icelandic

* Vid. Ihre, Gloſs. Suigoth. I. 894.

Icelandic words, which ſignify Greatland; and this name is very applicable, if a compariſon be made between it and the other iſlands.' From eaſt to weſt this iſland extends not leſs than thirty Engliſh miles; but its figure and breadth are extremely irregular. From Scalpa bay to Kirkwall, it is interſected by a hollow valley, of not more than a mile from ſea to ſea, which divides the iſland into two peninſulas. Its breadth on the weſt ſide is nearly ſixteen miles; on the eaſt it does not exceed five or ſix.

Our author commences his ſurvey of the iſlands with the united pariſhes of Kirkwall and St Ola, which are nearly in the centre, not only of the Mainland, but of the whole group. The town of Kirkwall is very ancient; and though built with no great regard to regularity, contains many commodious houſes, and ſome tolerable public buildings. The ruins of the Earl's and Biſhop's palaces are very ſuperb; and the Cathedral of St Magnus, which ſurvived the fury of the Reformation, and is ſtill entire, exhibits many features of elegance joined to magnificence. The only circumſtance which impairs the grandeur of this building is the meanneſs of its ſpire, which having been ſtruck down by lightning, was patched up, without being carried to its original elevation. Kirkwall is a royal burgh, and in conjunction with Wick, Dornock, Tain, and Dingwall, chooſes a repreſentative in Parliament. It enjoys a commodious harbour, though it is out of the tract of general trade. Our author reckons it to contain about two thouſand inhabitants; but we are diſpoſed to think he has conſiderably underrated their numbers.

The only other town of note in theſe iſlands is Stromneſs, ſituated towards the weſt of Pomona, and, as its name imports, on one of the ſounds or ſtreams, which interſect theſe iſlands. It poſſeſſes a commodious and ſafe harbour, by which alone the town is acceſſible; as moſt of the houſes, like thoſe of Venice, have a quay for the accommodation of boats and veſſels, while the ſtreets are generally ſo narrow and irregular, as not to admit a wheeled carriage. In fact, this town has evidently been built by ſeafaring people, whoſe ſole object has been to make it acceſſible from the water, without ever thinking that the approach by land was of any importance. Two Holms divide this harbour or bay, from that of Kerſton, where ſhips of greater burden, which paſs theſe ſeas, commonly caſt anchor.

Our author, after deſcribing all the pariſhes on the Mainland, paſſes over to Græmſay, Hoy, Waas; and having traverſed the ſouth iſles, returns again to the eaſtern extremity of Pomona, from which he embarks in an excurſion through the north iſles, each of which he deſcribes in the order of their contiguity, or as nearly

nearly in this order as their poſition will admit. We do not mean to accompany him in this laborious and dangerous circumnavigation.

The dwarfie ſtone of Hoy, a large ſandſtone, in which an apartment and a bed have been cut, our author ſuppoſes to have been the cell of a hermit, not, as commonly ſuppoſed, the reſidence of a giant and his wife. Indeed, the apartment is not ſufficiently large to accommodate people above the ordinary ſtature.

Waas, or Waes, is the ſame with *Voes*, bays or harbours. In this pariſh, accordingly, there are ſeveral excellent harbours, and particularly the Longhope, which is of eaſy acceſs from the Pentland Frith, and for ſafety and conveniency is not ſurpaſſed by any in Europe. Perhaps it might be adviſeable for Government to conſtruct a ſmall dock here for refitting veſſels which navigate the north ſeas: Part of Little Waas, contiguous to the bay, is already the property of the Crown. Other commodious harbours occur in almoſt every iſland, ſome of which may riſe into importance as fiſhing ſtations. We only notice this and Stromneſs, becauſe they are chiefly reſorted to by veſſels which navigate theſe ſeas.

In Book II. we are preſented with 'an account of the earlieſt inhabitants, with whatever is moſt remarkable in their manners, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions; of the tranſactions and character of thoſe people that conquered, and mingled with, or ſucceeded them; and a deſcription of ſome remaining monuments of both theſe people; of the changes the iſlands underwent in ſubſequent ages under different ſovereigns and different rulers; and the influence theſe ſeem evidently to have had in retarding their improvement.'

In this part of the work we meet with a good deal of controverſial diſcuſſion, over which we ſhall paſs as lightly as poſſible.

There is a long ſpeculation about the etymology of the name. It is evidently of the ſame origin with the Cape *Orcas* of the antient geographers, ſuppoſed to be Duncanſbay-head in Caithneſs; and both are probably derived from the word *Ork*, or Orca, which ſignifies a whale. Theſe huge animals are ſtill ſeen in conſiderable numbers paſſing through the Pentland Frith.

Our author (p. 76.) conjectures, with much probability, that Orkney received its firſt inhabitants from the north of Scotland; that they had gone over at firſt for the purpoſes of hunting and fiſhing; and had gradually formed permanent ſettlements on the different iſlands.

But in order to people the north of Scotland itſelf, Dr Barry, following Mr Pinkerton, chuſes to ſuppoſe that the Piks, or Picts, emigrating at a very remote period from the foreſts and lakes of Scandinavia,

Scandinavia, embarked all they had, and launched out into the ocean in queſt of new ſettlements. Upon this occaſion they are ſuppoſed to have paſſed by the Shetland and Orkney iſlands, though directly in their way; and, landing in the Hebudæ, from thence to have ſpread themſelves over Scotland, and founded the kingdom of the Picts. We do not think this account extremely probable.

In the infancy of navigation, it is not very likely that men ſhould embark upon the wide ocean in queſt of lands they had never heard of; nor is there any evidence that, at that early period, the Scandinavians poſſeſſed ſkill ſufficient to conſtruct veſſels capable of ſuch a voyage, or that they could navigate them after they were conſtructed. Every thing that is recorded in authentic hiſtory diſcredits ſuch a ſuppoſition.

Cæſar found the Belgæ in the ſouth of Britain, as well as in part of Gaul, from the latter of which they had expelled the Celtæ. The Belgæ do not ſeem to have been of old ſtanding in Britain; and it is probable thoſe whom he calls *natos in inſula ipſa*, were the Celtæ, or firſt ſettlers, whom the Belgæ had previouſly driven from the continent. It is natural to ſuppoſe that the Celtæ would firſt paſs over from the oppoſite ſhores of the Channel, where the Britiſh coaſt was conſtantly in their view; the Belgæ next; and then other tribes from Germany and the North, as the knowledge of navigation was extended, by the voyages of the Phenicians and Carthaginians. When men live by hunting, it requires a great extent of land to ſupport a few inhabitants. Hence they would ſpread rapidly over the country, ſwarm following ſwarm, until they found themſelves confined by an oppoſite ocean; and then would feel the neceſſity of betaking themſelves to paſturage and agriculture.

That the Celtic language was at one time ſpoken over all Scotland, is evident from the names of places in every diſtrict, derived from that dialect. But the queſtion recurs, who were the Picts? and who were the Caledonians? The Roman writers uniformly diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of Britain by the appellation of *Picti* Britanni. Painting their bodies ſeems to have been a proceſs every way ſimilar to tattooing among ſavage nations at this day, and its object was to make them appear terrible in battle, or to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. But the Romans diſcouraged theſe practices among thoſe who had ſubmitted to their yoke; and hence a new diſtinction would ariſe into *Picti Britanni*, and *non Picti Britanni*. Picti, or Picts, ſeems then to have been a term of reproach, equivalent to ſavage, or barbarous, thrown out by the provincial Britons, againſt thoſe who adhered to their antient uſages, and refuſed to ſubmit to the Romans.

Hence

Hence Picti, or Picts, became the name of those tribes contiguous to the Roman provinces who continued to defy their power. The Caledonians are evidently the Gaël Dun, or the Gaël of the mountains. Thus the terms Picts and Caledonians, only expressed a distinction known at this day, between Lowlanders and Highlanders. The term Scots, or Scuit, seems to have been a term of reproach thrown out by the provincial Britons, both against Picts and Caledonians, when they plundered the Roman provinces. It means *wanderers*, or rather robbers. Accordingly, we do not hear of the Scots until the decline of the Roman power, when the provincial Britons were exposed to their mercileſs incurſions. That this name was confined to thoſe tribes which lay contiguous to the province, appears from this, that in the interior Highlands, the people do not call themſelves Scots, but Gaël Albinich, or Gauls of Albion. Hence, the Scots could not have acquired their name in Ireland, and afterwards brought it with them to Argyleſhire and the Weſt Highlands; becauſe the immediate deſcendants of thoſe Iriſh emigrants, who ſtill continue to ſpeak the ſame language, never heard of any ſuch name, and make no uſe of it to this day.

Theſe facts lead us to infer, that the original Picts were tribes of the Gaël, or Celtæ, inhabiting the ſouthern and eaſtern parts of Scotland; and that the Caledonians were tribes of the ſame race, inhabiting the mountainous regions. The term Picts was not known as a national name, until the Romans began to advance towards the north; nor that of Scots, until their power began to decline.

The progreſs of the Roman conqueſts ſeems firſt to have ſuggeſted the neceſſity of theſe tribes, formerly independent, uniting under a common chief, and paved the way for the eſtabliſhment of two monarchies, one of the Picts, on the eaſt of the iſland; the other of the Caledonians, afterwards Scots, on the weſt. From favourable ſituation, and the reſort of ſtrangers from more improved diſtricts, the Picts would ſoon begin to underſtand and to practiſe agriculture; while the Caledonians of the mountains would depend chiefly on paſturage and hunting. Accordingly, the people of the interior Highlands know no more of the Picts than of the Scots of our antiquaries. The people whom we call Picts, they call *Drinnach*, labourers; thereby denoting their agricultural occupations. The modern Lowlanders they call *Saſſanach*, Saxons; which ſhews they do not conſider them to be of the ſame race with the ancient Picts, or Drinnach.

Theſe circumſtances lead us to conclude, that the Peti mentioned by Biſhop Thomas, (Appendix, No. I.) in conjunction with the Papæ, as the firſt inhabitants of Orkney, were a branch of the

the Gaël, or Celts, who had come thither from Caithneſs; and many circumſtances concur to confirm us in this opinion. St Columba, who was an Iriſh Celt, and the apoſtle of the Highlands and Iſles, is not ſtated to have uſed an interpreter when he addreſſed the Pictiſh kings, or when he preached the goſpel to vaſt multitudes of their people.

But the identity of any early people is more certainly to be deduced from the names of places, and the monuments they have left, than from the records of future hiſtorians, which have ſeldom any other foundation than the vanity or caprice of the author.

By the Norwegian invaſion 876, theſe Peti and Papæ were utterly extirpated. Biſhop Thomas ſays, *radicitus—quod poſteritas ipſarum nationum Peti et Papæ non remanſit;* a circumſtance which is not likely to have happened, had theſe Peti and Papæ ſpoken the ſame language, and been deſcended from the anceſtors of their conquerors. Our author mentions that the conquerors would naturally proceed to impoſe new names, which might recal the objects of affection they had left in their own country, or were deſcriptive of the local ſituation of places.

Theſe circumſtances will account for ſo few names of Gaëlic original being found in the Orkneys. But, independent of the name of the iſlands, which we apprehend to be Celtic, the word Mull, undoubtedly Celtic, is ſtill, in ſeveral caſes, uſed inſtead of Neſs, *noſe*, to expreſs a promontory or headland. We alſo apprehend the word Skerries, *ſunken rocks*, to be Gaëlic; and thoſe acquainted with that language may find ſeveral others derived from that ſource.

But, what ſeems to put the matter beyond a doubt, is this:—After the Norwegians acquired poſſeſſion of the Orkneys, they impoſed the name of *Pictland* Frith, on the ſea which ſeparated them from the northern kingdom of the Picts; and they called the neareſt point of it *Cathneſs*, viz. the noſe or promontory of the Catts or Catti. Now theſe Catti, or Clan Chatto, as they are ſometimes called in Gaëlic, were undoubtedly a Celtic tribe which inhabited the northern counties of Scotland, and from whom ſeveral of our Highland chiefs and clans, ſuch as the Macintoſhes, Macphersons, &c. at this day claim their deſcent. After the Norwegians or Danes got poſſeſſion of Caithneſs, they called the land beyond them Suderland, from which the county of Sutherland derives its modern name. But neither Caithneſs nor Sutherland are called by theſe names in Gaëlic to this day; the people of Sutherland call themſelves Catich, and their country Cattey. The Gaëlic name of Caithneſs is Goliu; and, among the Gaël, the people are ſtill known by no other name than Golich.

Golich. If, then, the firſt inhabitants of the Orkneys had come from the oppoſite ſhores of Caithneſs, which is extremely probable, they muſt have been a colony of the Catti, and hence of Celtic extraction.

Independent of the names of places, this opinion receives additional confirmation from the religious monuments ſtill remaining in the Orkneys. We allude to the ſtanding ſtones of Stennis, which, though much defaced, are clearly of druidical origin, and muſt have been erected by the Peti, or ſome other people who poſſeſſed theſe iſlands before the northern nations ſubdued them.

Detached obeliſks may have been erected to commemorate a victory, or ſome remarkable event, but never to point out the grave of a great man. Such graves are marked out by four or more flat ſtones ſet on edge. Where numbers have fallen in battle, a heap of ſtones, or mound of earth, marks the place of their interment. But wherever, through the whole Highlands, we find a circle of tall ſtones, we may be aſſured that theſe were ſet up for religious purpoſes. Often there are only four tall ſtones, which are always exactly in the four cardinal points, viewed from the centre. Sometimes there is a ſmaller circle, which is a ſort of *ſanctum ſanctorum*, in the centre, and circles within circles, extending to a conſiderable diſtance beyond. When there is only one circle of conſiderable diameter, four great ſtones generally mark the cardinal points with great exactneſs, and ſmaller ones mark the ſubdiviſions, as far as there is room. When there is circle within circle, the interior circle marks the prominent points of direction, and the exterior ones the minuteſt ſubdiviſions, with the greateſt exactneſs.

Theſe circles, beſides being uſed as places of worſhip, and courts of juſtice, evidently ſerved the purpoſe of rude aſtronomical obſervatories, by which the Druids could aſcertain the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, moon, and ſtars; the ſeaſons of the year, and even the hours of the day; and, where they are tolerably entire, a ſlight degree of attention would enable any perſon to do ſo at this hour. The ſun ſeems to have been the great object of veneration, as an emblem of the Deity; and the larger circles have a great ſtone placed on a heap in the centre, or more frequently on a tumulus at a little diſtance, but always due ſouth from the centre of the interior circle, on which they ſeem to have offered ſacrifice when the ſun was in the meridian.

Fragments of theſe circles, and ſometimes pretty entire ones, are ſtill viſible in all parts of the Highlands, from Arran to Caithneſs. Many have been demoliſhed through mere wantonneſs; and the extenſion of agriculture has deſtroyed many more, eſpecially

eſpecially in the counties of Moray, Nairne, and Inverneſs, where they lately abounded.

Perhaps the moſt entire one that now remains, is on the banks of Loch Roag, in the iſland of Lewis. It conſiſts of a *ſanctum ſanctorum*, or ſmall circle of very large ſtones, in the centre, from which a long avenue runs due ſouth and north, and a ſhorter one eaſt and weſt. There are ſeveral concentric circles extending to a conſiderable diſtance from the inner one, and many tall ſtones are ſeen at various diſtances on the neighbouring hills; but chiefly towards the eaſt. Oppoſite to the ſouthern avenue, is a ſmall hill, and on its declivity, a little below its ſummit, there is a ſtone of moſt enormous magnitude, which muſt have been placed there by deſign, as its northern ſide is ſeen to reſt on ſmall rounded blocks of ſtone, which prop it on the ſhelving rock of the hill. This enormous maſs is due ſouth from the *ſanctum ſanctorum*, or centre of the circles; and appears to have been the altar on which they offered ſacrifice. This rude maſs may have been raiſed from the rocky hill on which it reſts; but no rocks in that quarter could furniſh the ſtanding ſtones.

The perfect ſimilarity of theſe circles in the Orkneys, to thoſe which are recognized elſewhere as undoubted veſtiges of Druidical ſuperſtition, compel us to diſſent from the opinion advanced by our author (p. 210.) that neither the Druids nor the Celts ever had any footing in theſe iſlands. Though the learned word in Gaëlic for a church, be ſome ſuch one as *heglíſh*, a corruption of *eccleſia*; yet its vulgar name is *clachan*, ſtones; and at this day, they expreſs going to church by a phraſe which implies *going to the ſtones*.

The only other ancient monuments of which we ſhall take notice, are the round buildings, called Picts'-houſes in Orkney and Caithneſs. Theſe buildings are moſtly reduced to heaps of rubbiſh in the counties now mentioned, and great numbers of them are alſo demoliſhed in the Highlands and Hebrides; but in many places, ſuch as Dornadilla in Strathnaver, in Lochalſh, Kintail, Glenelg; in Skye, Lewis, and ſeveral of the Hebrides, fragments, and often conſiderable portions of the walls remain.

Our author preſents us with a ground plan and deſcription of one found at Quarterneſs, near Kirkwall. But the only apartments remaining, ſeem to have been cellars where they ſtowed their victuals and moſt valuable effects, and where they might conceal themſelves in caſes of extremity. The place of habitation ſeems to have been above this, though now demoliſhed. The reaſon why theſe cellars are ſo narrow, and ſo numerous, ſeems to have been their ignorance of the art of conſtructing arches

arches, and the conſequent neceſſity they were under of covering them, by making flat ſtones gradually project beyond each other, ſo as to form an angular roof. Had the cells been wide, it is evident they could not, in this way, have made the building to ſupport the habitable floor above. Perhaps the moſt entire of theſe buildings that any where remains in Scotland, is that called *Dun Carlaway*, in the pariſh of Lochs, iſland of Lewis; of which we beg leave to ſubjoin a deſcription.

It ſtands on a ſolid rock, projecting towards the ſouth, and is of a conical form, like the furnace of a glaſs-houſe; only it widens more rapidly towards the baſe. Nearly one half of the building, on the north ſide, has been demoliſhed, or has fallen down. The ſouthern half, from the baſe to the ſummit, ſeemed to be about 50 feet in height, and moſt probably was originally higher, and contracted to a narrow aperture at top. A projection of ſtones, forming a circle on the inſide, ſeems to prove that a wooden floor had reſted upon them, nearly on a level with the ground on the north ſide; and there is ſufficient depth of building to admit a ſtory below this, though the ſpace is now filled with looſe ſtones. It is built of maſſes of flat granite, without cement, and conſiſts of an exterior and interior wall, parallel to each other. Between theſe walls there are paſſages formed by large flat ſtones, which connect the two walls, between which a man can eaſily walk. Theſe paſſages run horizontally round the building to a certain extent, and then riſe by a rude ſtair, or gently inclined plane, to other horizontal paſſages, and ſo on, until they conduct to the ſummit. The diameter within walls, at the projecting circle of ſtones on which the floor had reſted, is twenty-five feet eight inches; the thickneſs of the wall at this point, nine feet one inch. There may be about eight or ten feet of building below this circle, where the wall becomes rapidly thicker, but the accumulation of rubbiſh prevented its meaſurement.

On viewing theſe buildings, every one muſt be ſtruck with the care that has been employed in ſelecting and ſhaping each ſtone for the poſition it occupies; the accuracy with which the whole are joined together; the art by which they are made to croſs and bind each other; and the ſkill which has prevented the ſlighteſt deviation from the curvature of the building, external or internal. Where the door is not concealed by rubbiſh, it commonly faces the eaſt, is about two feet in breadth, and three in height, compoſed of maſſy ſtones. One, and ſometimes two holes in the wall within, ſeem intended to receive maſſy wooden bolts. Theſe buildings are only called Picts'-houſes in Orkney and in Caithneſs; over the greater part of the Highlands they are aſcribed to the

Danes, and occaſionally to witches, Fingalians, and other ideal beings. We gladly eſcape, however, from theſe ſpeculations into the regions of authentic hiſtory.

The great Scandinavian kingdoms appear to have been formed, or at leaſt conſolidated, by certain violent uſurpations of the ſovereign over the rights and privileges of his warlike and independent barons. A ſucceſsful ſtruggle of this ſort, on the part of Harold Harfager, or the fair-haired, King of Norway, had induced ſome who were diſſatisfied with the new order of things to ſeek an aſylum in the Shetland and Orkney iſles, from whence they haraſſed his trade by their piracies. The monarch, filled with indignation, immediately collected a fleet and powerful army; and landing firſt in Shetland, and afterwards in Orkney, he utterly extirpated the poor Peti and Papæ, who ſeem to have been guilty of no other crime than affording an hoſpitable reception to his diſcontented ſubjects. Nor did he ſtop here, but, elated with this firſt ſucceſs, carried havock and devaſtation throughout the Hebrides. He then proceeded to the Iſle of Man, of which he took poſſeſſion without oppoſition, as the inhabitants, fearing perhaps the fate of the Peti and Papæ, had abandoned the iſland. This, with the irruptions of the Danes into England, ſeems to be the firſt authenticated naval expedition of theſe northern nations towards the ſouth of Europe, A. D. 870; and all the accounts we have of Picts or others having previouſly paſſed from theſe countries into the eaſtern parts of Scotland, ſeem to reſt on no better authority than conjecture.

Harold conferred the government of his new conqueſts upon Ronald Count of Merca, his confidential friend. But Ronald, wiſhing to return to his own country, reſigned the whole into the hands of his brother Sigurd, whom he prevailed on the King to create an Earl, and to confirm in his new inheritance.

Einar, a natural ſon of Count Ronald, being made Earl, proved himſelf to be a man of conſummate wiſdom and vigour, though of an ungracious appearance. He is ſaid firſt to have taught his people the uſe of turf or peat for fuel; a diſcovery, of infinite importance, as their woods, which never were abundant, ſeem to have been exhauſted. For this benevolent action he was honoured with the name of Torffeid, or Torfeinar.

The authority of the Kings of Norway, and afterwards of Denmark, when the monarchies were united, over the Orkneys, ſeems to have been always very looſe and undefined. The earls acknowledged a ſort of nominal ſubmiſſion to theſe princes, and competitors frequently appealed to their deciſion; but it does not appear, from any thing our author has ſtated, that they paid them any tribute, or even aſſiſted them in their military enterpriſes, except in caſes where they voluntarily joined them as equals and allies. In fact, the

the earls acted as ſovereign and independent princes over the territories they governed; and had it not been for the fatal meaſure of frequently dividing their territories among their ſons, and the frequent diſputes about the right of ſucceſſion, which, like every other diſpute in thoſe days, was ſettled by the ſword, men of ſuch heroiſm and enterpriſe, as ſome of theſe earls appear to have been, might have eſtabliſhed a very extenſive dominion. They ſoon got poſſeſſion of Caithneſs and Sutherland, of the Hebrides, and ſeveral tracts on the weſtern ſhores of Scotland. When not occupied in conteſts among themſelves about the right of ſucceſſion, they amuſed themſelves with predatory excurſions to Ireland, to Scotland, and to England, and long continued to worſhip and to immolate human victims to Odin. The hiſtory of their converſion to Chriſtianity forms one of the moſt edifying and characteriſtic narratives in the volume.

Olaus Frigueſſon King of Norway, having, in his youth, acquired ſome knowledge of the Chriſtian religion in England, was ſo much ſtruck with its excellence, that he reſolved to ſpread its principles through diſtant lands. We may preſume he ſoon converted his ſubjects by word of command. But this was not enough. He wiſhed to ſpread this ſalutary doctrine among his foreign allies and dependents; and, to accompliſh this object, he took upon himſelf the character of a miſſionary, and fitted out a ſquadron of five or ſix ſhips, well ſtored with learned men, and with diſciplined forces to ſupport their arguments.

At this time Sigurd was Earl of Orkney, a prince who had rendered himſelf illuſtrious by his intrepid courage and heroic achievements. The worthy monarch having executed his miſſion in Ireland and other places, our author proceeds to ſtate,

'On his return, he brought his ſquadron to anchor in one of the harbours of South Ronaldſay, where the Earl then was, in readineſs for ſome expedition. Sigurd was of an open and unſuſpicious temper, which aroſe from confidence in the ſtrength of his arms, and in the magnitude of his fame. He beheld, therefore, the approach of the Norwegian fleet without apprehenſion; nor did he heſitate to go on board as ſoon as he received the King's invitation, as he dreaded no harm, and ſuppoſed, perhaps, that a conference only was wanted reſpecting ſome military enterprize, in which the intereſt of both of them might be equally concerned. The King's conduct, however, ſoon convinced him of his miſtake; for ſcarcely had they met together, when Olaus, aſſuming an air of dignity, opened his deſign in the following terms.'

Here the King makes a long and very gracious ſpeech, reminding the Earl of his vaſſalage, and requiring him and his people inſtantly to adopt the Chriſtian religion, and ſubmit to the holy rite of baptiſm, under pain of deſtruction in this world, and

damnation in the next. The Earl ſtarts ſome ſcruples about abandoning a religion which had been ſanctioned by the wiſdom of his anceſtors; eſpecially as no reaſons had been offered to convince him that the religion he was required to adopt, was better than the one he was required to abandon.

'The King had neither time nor inclination to produce any other arguments than thoſe he had uſed, on ſimilar occaſions, in his own country; the arguments of intolerant zeal and deſpotic power. He therefore drew his ſword; and, laying hold of the Earl's ſon, Hundius, whom his father had carried on board with him, declared, in the moſt determined manner, that he would inſtantly plunge it into the youth's boſom, if his father heſitated any longer; and at the ſame time added, that his fate ſhould only be the forerunner of what all thoſe ſhould ſuffer, who refuſed to adopt the principles of this religion, which he himſelf profeſſed. Convinced that an abſolute refuſal, or even any longer heſitation or delay, would have been the certain means of involving himſelf, his family and country, in one common ruin, Sigurd yielded to the imperious dictates of Olaus, whom he now acknowledged as his ſovereign; publicly profeſſed the Chriſtian faith, and received baptiſm; and the people followed the example of their Earl with one accord. The King, exulting in the ſucceſs of his pious enterprize, now returned home, carrying Hundius along with him as an hoſtage; and, on his departure, left ſome learned men to inſtruct the inhabitants in the nature of that religion which he had thus planted by the point of the ſword.'

This Earl fell in the battle of Clontarf, in Ireland; and various prodigies are ſaid to have happened at the inſtant of his death. The moſt remarkable is, that, in Caithneſs, twelve women were ſeen weaving a web in the inſide of a hill, while they ſang a dreadful ſong, deſcriptive of the fate of the Earl of Orkney. This ſhews that though the Earl and his ſubjects had received the ordinance of baptiſm, they had not forgotten their old religion. The ſong was tranſlated into Latin by Torfæus, and is the ground-work of Mr Gray's celebrated Ode of the *Fatal Siſters.*

After their converſion to chriſtianity, both the people and their rulers ſeem to have gradually put off their original ferocity, and to have cultivated with ſome ſucceſs the arts and virtues of peace. Earl Magnus, who flouriſhed early in the 12th century, was a prince of great accompliſhments; and had the honour of being enrolled by the church of Rome in her holy calendar of ſaints.

Our author (p. 187.) following the Daniſh hiſtorians, repreſents Haco, King of Norway, as having been victorious over Alexander the Third of Scotland, at the famous battle of Largs. That this was not the caſe, however, is eſtabliſhed not only by the

the teſtimony of our hiſtorians, but by the names of places, and the local traditions, which point out the moſt intereſting ſcenes of the battle and purſuit. It is ſtill better confirmed by the event; for Haco, returning to Kirkwall in Orkney, died there of a broken heart, 1263; the Hebudæ were conceded by treaty to the Scots; and the northern nations, who had haraſſed Scotland by their piracies, during ſeveral centuries, have never ſince, in a hoſtile manner, approached her ſhores.

A variety of circumſtances had concurred, before the end of the fourteenth century, to break the power of this proud and turbulent principality. The chief of theſe was the practice of allowing all the children of the Earls an equal right of ſucceſſion, in conſequence of which their territories were either diſmembered, or their unity was preſerved at the price of civil wars or aſſaſſination. In conſequence of a diviſion among females, the Hebudæ had long become a ſeparate ſovereignty, holding nominally of the king of Norway. The kings of Scotland had contrived to ſtrip the Earls of Roſs and Sutherland, and even obliged them to hold Caithneſs as a fief from their crown. The rage for conqueſt and piratical expeditions to the ſouth of Europe, was a fire which had burnt out in the North; ſo that their iſlands were no longer of the ſame importance as formerly, as a place for muſtering and preparing their forces. Added to all theſe cauſes of diminiſhed importance, the earldom itſelf had fallen, by intermarriage, to the Sinclairs of Roſlin, a family which had come over with William the Conqueror, and which was attached, by ſtill ampler poſſeſſions on the Mainland, to the intereſt of Scotland.

From theſe cauſes, and a wiſh to conciliate the friendſhip of the Scotiſh monarch, Chriſtian of Oldenburgh, who united the crowns of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, conveyed the Shetland and Orkney Iſlands in pledge for part of his daughter's portion, who was married to James III. king of Scotland, 1468. Thus were theſe iſlands, which ſeem originally to have been connected with the northern kingdom of the Picts, reannexed to the Scotiſh crown. It does not appear that any more but the right of homage, or ſuperiority, was conveyed by this tranſaction. But James having compenſated Earl Sinclair by other lands, annexed the earldom of Orkney to the crown of Scotland, by act of Parliament, not to be given away, in time coming, to any but one of the King's lawful ſons.

Notwithſtanding this act, the Iſlands were frequently granted to ſeveral individuals, and as often revoked. Sometimes they were farmed, and ſometimes mortgaged, until they were finally and irrevocably granted to the Earl of Morton, on payment of a

ſmall feu-duty. He finding much difficulty in collecting his rents, ſold his rights to the father of the preſent Lord Dundas, who now enjoys all the revenues which formerly belonged to the potent Earls of Orkney.

Book III. exhibits 'the preſent ſtate of theſe Iſlands, their favourable ſituation and circumſtances, and the advantages that might be derived from them.' Of this, the firſt chapter treats of their natural hiſtory, which is divided into three ſections, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology.

On Mineralogy our author is very conciſe, as he follows Mr Jamieſon, who, in deſcribing theſe iſlands, obſerves more than his uſual brevity. All we can gather from him is, that the North Iſles conſiſt 'of ſandſtone, ſandſtone flag, ſchiſtoſe clay, and limeſtone; in ſome inſtances of baſalt; and, in ſome, of breccia.' The ſandſtone is in ſome places red, in others grey, or of a dirty white, and ſometimes approaches the argillaceous, ſometimes the ſilicious genus. Only two veins of lead have been diſcovered; one on the north-eaſt, the other on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the Iſland of Shapinſhay. The South Iſles, we are told, conſiſt nearly of the ſame ſtrata; but they have little or no baſalt, and nearly as little limeſtone. We believe they contain no baſalt whatever; but limeſtone abounds near Melſetter, and in the Iſland of Faray; and we doubt not it may be found in many other places, if the inhabitants would take the trouble of looking for it.

In Little Waas there are ſymptoms of hæmatites; and near the church of Hoy there is a large vein of this ſpecies of ironſtone, of an excellent quality. In three different places of South Ronaldſhay, attempts have been made to work lead, though without much ſucceſs. Burray is thought to exhibit ſymptoms of coal, which have not been explored.

In the Mainland the ſtrata are nearly ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed in the other iſlands. Indications of lead have been found on the ſouth ſide of the iſland; and at Yaſnaby, on the weſt, veins of barytes and calcareous ſpar are ſeen traverſing the ſandſtone, having pyrites and galena interſperſed. Lydian ſtone occurs in ſchiſtoſe clay, near the manſe of Stromneſs, and galena in a rock intermediate between ſchiſtoſe and indurated clay. But this ore has nowhere been found in ſufficient quantity. The ſtratified limeſtone of theſe iſlands is generally of a dark blue, or black colour, probably from bitumen, as it frequently contains pieces of coal, or jet, interſperſed. Marble and alabaſter occur in the pariſh of Birſay. Granite is only found at Stromneſs and its neighbourhood; alſo gneiſs, micaceous ſchiſtus, and hornblende rock.

In the Botanical ſection, our author preſents us with a numerous

rous list of the plants which grow in these islands, with the places of their habitation. There are only a few trees in Hoy, and a few in the gardens of Kirkwall; but that trees formerly grew here, is evident from those found in mosses. In order to raise trees, the author proposes a plan, we are afraid not very likely to succeed, for covering the nakedness of these islands.

In the Zoological section we are presented with an account of no less than 65 species of fish, which abound in the lakes and rivulets, or in the seas around. The quality is in general excellent; but their abundance seems hitherto to have operated rather as a bar than a stimulus to the industry of the people. They seldom think of turning them to profit, as an article of commerce. A few, for their own use, is all they think of taking; and, with an apparatus of the value of one penny, a man can, from the point of a rock, take as many in a few hours as will maintain his family a week. The only reptiles are frogs and toads, and the leeches used in surgery. No serpents or venemous creatures are known. We are next presented with a short description of upwards of a hundred sea and land birds, which are either perennial in these islands, or visit them at certain seasons of the year. This is followed by a list of quadrupeds. Here we remark, that the brown Norwegian rat, which has been introduced by shipping, has nearly extirpated the ancient, small-sized, black rat from these islands, as from other places. This rat is about 18 inches from the point of its tail to its snout, with size and strength of body in proportion. Having much more ability of doing mischief, it is much more formidable than the original black rat. Rabbits abound in all the sandy islands and downs; and considerable profits have lately been made from their skins. Hares formerly abounded; but the destruction of woods and bushes, by exposing them to the birds of prey, has long ago effected their extirpation. The same cause has effected the extirpation of roes and red-deer; the horns of the latter being found in great numbers in mosses and moraſſes, where woods at one time had grown.

The native breed of sheep seems to have been imported by the original conquerors of the islands. They are small, white-faced, and without horns. Parts of the fleece are very fine; and it is possible, that due attention may raise this into a very valuable breed. At present they do not form an article of commerce; and it is rather wonderful how they have been able to perpetuate their race, under the savage treatment which they generally receive.

In Chap. II. (p. 326.), our author proceeds to an investigation of the population of the islands, and of its comparative amount

in ancient and in modern times. He informs us, that P. Stewart, Earl of Orkney, directed a muſter to be made of the people, about 1620, by which it appeared, that ten thouſand fighting men might be raiſed on any emergency, without encroaching upon thoſe who were neceſſary to carry on the agriculture and fiſheries of the iſlands. Upon the ſuppoſition that every tenth perſon might be ſpared as a ſoldier, it is inferred that the whole population then amounted to one hundred thouſand. The preſent population is only twenty-four thouſand, and has been nearly ſtationary for the laſt ſixty years. This extraordinary diminution has certainly been occaſioned chiefly by the non-reſidence of the proprietors; the ceſſation of piracy, and the conſequent diminution of veſſels, either for trade or for fiſhing; and, perhaps, to the gradual deterioration of the ſoil, which no agricultural exertions have been employed to regenerate.

In Chap. III. our author proceeds to the conſideration of Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, and Fiſheries.

Our limits will not permit us to enter minutely into theſe important objects; nor is this neceſſary; becauſe the general ſtate of agriculture may be underſtood from the uſual mode of ploughing. This is commonly done in Orkney by four horſes yoked abreaſt. A driver walks backwards before, dragging them after him with a rope, and ſtrikes them in the face to make them come forward.

The obſtructions to improvement are numerous. A great part of the arable land is poſſeſſed in alternate ridges, and much of the paſture in common. There is no draining, and ſcarcely any fences or rotation of crops. The rents of the earldom are alſo paid in kind, which operates as a ſort of bounty for the production of a certain proportion of inferior grain; and the weighing and meaſuring machines are defective and irregular beyond all example.

The crops uſually cultivated are black or grey oats, bear or bigg, and occaſionally peas, of which the white ſucceed beſt. Red oats have ſucceeded admirably where the land was in tolerable order. Barley and rye, and even wheat, are cultivated with conſiderable ſucceſs; though the laſt has hitherto been managed in a very unſkilful manner. The ſoil and climate, however, ſeem beſt adapted for green crops and ſown graſſes. In the garden, roots and pot-herbs attain to great perfection. Potatoes are cultivated to a conſiderable extent, and their management might be much improved. Turnips ſucceed admirably; and, from the mildneſs of the winter, remain upon the ground until late in ſpring, when they are as greedily devoured by the cattle

as

as in autumn. Flax was cultivated in ancient times, and its cultivation has lately been revived with much ſucceſs.

With reſpect to manures, we have already ſtated, that limeſtone abounds in various places, and peat well adapted for burning it. Shell-marl is found, in the greateſt abundance, in many of the ſwamps and lakes; and though not mentioned by our author, ſhell-ſand, not inferior to lime, occurs in various places. The people, however, are prejudiced againſt the uſe of this ſand, becauſe it is often blown by the wind, and deſtroys land by its exceſs. Though not mentioned either by our author, or Mr Jamieſon, clay-marl, often of excellent quality, occurs in various places. This, or ſwampy earth, ſhould be ſubſtituted in place of the ſurface-turf, for making compoſts; and the moſt rigorous penalties impoſed upon thoſe who pare and demoliſh the ſurface of the waſte land. Their putreſcent manures are ſea-weeds and the dung of cattle.

Our author (p. 367.) expreſſes a hope that the Crown will concur in adopting the proper arrangements for improving the agriculture of this country. Unfortunately, the Crown lands here, as in other places, are occupied in ſuch a way, as not only to render their own improvement impracticable, but alſo to prevent the improvement of other lands with which they are intermixed, or to which they are contiguous. The occupants ſay they have no power to alter either their mode of occupancy, or of culture.

The only manufactures of any conſequence here, are thoſe of linen and kelp.

Our author (p. 370.) informs us, that in 1799, 'about fifty thouſand yards of linen were ſtamped; and, beſides the yarn that was bartered, no fewer than fifty thouſand ſpindles were ſold, and as much ſent to the thread manufactory.'

The kelp manufacture employs more than three thouſand people, during two months in ſummer. Three thouſand tons is the average quantity manufactured, which varies in price from nine to ten pounds, and ſometimes brings nearly 30,000l. Sterling in one ſeaſon. This manufacture commenced about ſeventy years ago; and our author calculates that, during that period, it has brought into the iſlands about 595,000l. Sterling.

We doubt not but other valuable products, beſides alkaline ſalt, may be extracted from ſea-weeds. Some gentlemen have introduced Colonel Fullarton's mode of burning the plants in cloſe kilns, which is a great improvement. We conceive it would be ſtill better to have theſe kilns conſtructed on flat-bottomed boats, paved with bricks or flags to prevent fire, which might

might be moved round ſucceſſively to the ſeveral creeks and bays where the weeds abound. This would convert kelp-burning into a diſtinct profeſſion, to be followed all days of the year; inſtead of being carried on, as at preſent, by people removed from agriculture at the moſt important ſeaſon of the year.

The principal exports from theſe iſlands are 'beef, pork, butter, tallow, hides, calf-ſkins, rabbit-ſkins, ſalt, fiſh, oil, feathers, linen yarn, and coarſe linen cloth, kelp, and, in years of fertility, corn, meal, and malt, in no ſmall quantity. The imports are wood, iron, flax, coal, ſugar, ſpirits, wines, ſnuff and tobacco, flour and biſcuit, ſoap, leather, hardware, broad-cloth, and printed linens and cottons.' The value of exports exceeds that of imports in various proportions, from one to above five thouſand pounds *per annum*.

The fiſheries are in a very languiſhing ſtate, though they ſeem calculated to prove a very great ſource of induſtry and wealth. About a hundred boats, with ten men in each, are employed in the lobſter fiſhery. They are ſold at 2d. each to veſſels which convey them alive to London. A good fiſher will gain ten pounds during the ſeaſon. Herrings ſwarm here at particular periods, but few are caught. The cod and ling fiſhing are equally neglected; though the farmers in Waas, during their intervals of work, have been known to catch and cure more than forty thouſand excellent cod-fiſh in one ſummer. From twenty-five to thirty ſmacks reſort to this fiſhing during winter, and carry them alive to the London market.

To improve the fiſheries, our author thinks it ſhould be made a ſeparate profeſſion, and the fiſhers collected into villages, in convenient ſituations. That decked veſſels ſhould be uſed in place of ſmall open boats; and that a great magazine of all the materials uſed in fiſhing ſhould be eſtabliſhed in theſe iſlands. He alſo thinks this would prove a moſt convenient ſtation for the whale and ſeal fiſhery, and for converting the blubber into oil. Already theſe iſlands furniſh a conſiderable number of excellent hands to the Hudſon's Bay company, to the Greenland fiſhery, to the merchant ſervice, and the Royal navy. Our author thinks that were the land and the fiſheries but tolerably improved, they might, on any emergency, furniſh from ſeven to eight thouſand brave and expert ſeamen to the Royal navy.

On the whole, we have peruſed this work with much intereſt and much approbation; and we think the reverend author entitled to much credit for the induſtry he has diſplayed in elucidating the ſtate of a province, which, though remote and obſcure, ſeems well calculated to promote the aggrandizement of the

the Britiſh navy, and the general proſperity of the empire. Though we have ventured to differ from him in a few ſpeculative points, his practical concluſions meet our entire acquieſcence. We cannot ſay much for the arrangement of the work, or the elegance of its compoſition; although the ſtyle is, upon the whole, perſpicuous, and without affectation. The work is adorned by a good map of the iſlands, and views of the moſt intereſting objects, which, ſo far as we were enabled to judge, are not only elegant, but correct.

ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of Richard Cumberland: Written by himſelf. Containing an Account of his Life and Writings, interſperſed with Anecdotes and Characters of ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Perſons of his Time, with whom he had Intercourſe or Connexion.* 4to. pp. 533. London, 1806.

WE certainly have no wiſh for the death of Mr Cumberland; on the contrary, we hope he will live long enough to make a large ſupplement to theſe memoirs: but he has embarraſſed us a little by publiſhing this volume in his lifetime. We are extremely unwilling to ſay any thing that may hurt the feelings of a man of diſtinguiſhed talents, who is drawing to the end of his career, and imagines that he has hitherto been ill uſed by the world: but he has ſhewn, in this publication, ſuch an appetite for praiſe, and ſuch a jealouſy of cenſure, that we are afraid we cannot do our duty conſcientiouſly, without giving him offence. The truth is, that the book has rather diſappointed us. We expected it to be extremely amuſing; and it is not. There is too much of the firſt part of the title in it, and too little of the laſt. Of the life and writings of Richard Cumberland, we hear more than enough; but of the diſtinguiſhed perſons with whom he lived, we have many fewer characters and anecdotes than we could have wiſhed. We are the more inclined to regret this, both becauſe the general ſtyle of Mr Cumberland's compoſitions has convinced us, that no one could have exhibited characters and anecdotes in a more engaging manner, and becauſe, from what he has put into this book, we actually ſee that he had excellent opportunities for collecting, and ſtill better talents for relating them. The anecdotes and characters which we have, are given in a very pleaſing and animated manner, and form the chief merit of the publication; but they do not occupy one tenth part of it; and the reſt is filled with details that do not often intereſt, and obſervations that do not always amuſe.

Authors,

Authors, we think, ſhould not be encouraged to write their own lives. The genius of Rouſſeau, his enthuſiaſm, and the novelty of his plan, have rendered the Confeſſions, in ſome reſpects, the moſt intereſting of books. But a writer, who is in full poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, who has lived in the world like the men and women who compoſe it, and whoſe vanity aims only at the praiſe of great talents and accompliſhments, muſt not hope to write a book like the Confeſſions; and is ſcarcely to be truſted with the delineation of his own character, or the narrative of his own adventures. We have no objection, however, to let authors tell their own ſtory, as an apology for telling that of all their acquaintances; and can eaſily forgive them for grouping and aſſorting their anecdotes of their contemporaries, according to the chronology and incidents of their own lives. This is but indulging the painter of a great gallery of worthies with a pannel for his own portrait; and though it will probably be the leaſt like of the whole collection, it would be hard to grudge him this little gratification.

Life has often been compared to a journey; and the ſimile ſeems to hold better in nothing than in the identity of the rules by which thoſe who write their travels, and thoſe who write their lives, ſhould be governed. When a man returns from viſiting any celebrated region, we expect to hear much more of the things and perſons he has ſeen, than of his own perſonal tranſactions; and are naturally diſappointed if, after ſaying that he lived much with illuſtrious ſtateſmen or heroes, he chooſes rather to tell us of his own travelling equipage, or of his cookery and ſervants, than to give us any account of the character and converſation of thoſe diſtinguiſhed perſons. In the ſame manner, when, at the cloſe of a long life, ſpent in circles of literary and political celebrity, an author ſits down to give the world an account of his retroſpections, it is reaſonable to ſtipulate that he ſhall talk leſs of himſelf than of his aſſociates, and natural to complain, if he tells long ſtories of his ſchoolmaſters and grandmothers, while he paſſes over ſome of the moſt illuſtrious of his companions, with a bare mention of their names.

Mr Cumberland has offended a little in this way. He has alſo compoſed theſe memoirs, we think, in too diffuſe, rambling, and careleſs a ſtyle. There is evidently no ſelection or method in his narrative; and unweighed remarks, and fatiguing apologies and proteſtations are tediouſly interwoven with it in the genuine ſtyle of good-natured but irrepreſſible loquacity. The whole compoſition, indeed, has not only too much the air of converſation; it has ſometimes an unfortunate reſemblance to the converſation of a profeſſed

profeſſed talker; and we meet with many paſſages in which the author appears to work himſelf up to an artificial vivacity, and to give a certain air of ſmartneſs to his expreſſion, by the introduction of cant phraſes, odd metaphors, and a ſort of practiſed and theatrical originality. The work, however, is well worth going over, and contains many more amuſing paſſages than we can afford to extract on the preſent occaſion.

Mr Cumberland was born in 1732; and he has a very natural pride in relating, that his paternal great grandfather was the learned and moſt exemplary Biſhop Cumberland, author of the treatiſe *De Legibus Naturæ*; and that his maternal grandfather was the celebrated Dr Richard Bentley. Of the laſt of theſe diſtinguiſhed perſons he has given, from the diſtinct recollection of his childhood, a much more amiable and engaging repreſentation than has hitherto been made public. Inſtead of the haughty and moroſe critic and controverſialiſt, we learn, with pleaſure, that he was as remarkable for mildneſs and kind affections in private life, as for profound erudition and ſagacity as an author. Mr Cumberland has collected a number of little anecdotes that ſeem to be quite concluſive upon this head; but we rather inſert the following general teſtimony.

'I had a ſiſter ſomewhat older than myſelf. Had there been any of that ſternneſs in my grandfather, which is ſo falſely imputed to him, it may well be ſuppoſed we ſhould have been awed into ſilence in his preſence, to which we were admitted every day. Nothing can be further from the truth; he was the unwearied patron and promoter of all our childiſh ſports and ſallies; at all times ready to detach himſelf from any topic of converſation to take an intereſt and bear his part in our amuſements. The eager curioſity natural to our age, and the queſtions it gave birth to, ſo teazing to many parents, he, on the contrary, attended to and encouraged, as the claims of infant reaſon never to be evaded or abuſed; ſtrongly recommending, that to all ſuch inquiries anſwer ſhould be given according to the ſtricteſt truth, and information dealt to us in the cleareſt terms, as a ſacred duty never to be departed from. I have broken in upon him many a time in his hours of ſtudy, when he would put his book aſide, ring his hand-bell for his ſervant, and be led to his ſhelves to take down a picture-book for my amuſement. I do not ſay that his good-nature always gained its object, as the pictures which his books generally ſupplied me with were anatomical drawings of diſſected bodies, very little calculated to communicate delight; but he had nothing better to produce; and ſurely ſuch an effort on his part, however unſucceſsful, was no feature of a cynic: a cynic *ſhould be made of ſterner ſtuff.*

'Once, and only once, I recollect his giving me a gentle rebuke for making a moſt outrageous noiſe in the room over his library, and diſturbing him in his ſtudies; I had no apprehenſion of anger from him, and

and confidently anſwered that I could not help it, as I had been at battledore and ſhuttlecock with Maſter Gooch, the Biſhop of Ely's ſon. "And I have been at this ſport with his father," he replied; "but thine has been the more amuſing game; ſo there's no harm done." p. 7, 8.

He alſo mentions, that when his adverſary Collins had fallen into poverty in his latter days, Bentley, apprehending that he was in ſome meaſure reſponſible for his loſs of reputation, contrived to adminiſter to his neceſſities in a way not leſs creditable to his delicacy than to his liberality.

The youngeſt daughter of this illuſtrious ſcholar, the Phœbe of Byron's paſtoral, and herſelf a woman of extraordinary accompliſhments, was the mother of Mr Cumberland. His father, who appears alſo to have been a man of the moſt blameleſs and amiable diſpoſitions, and to have united, in a very exemplary way, the characters of a clergyman and a gentleman, was Rector of Stanwick in Northampton at the birth of his ſon. He went to ſchool firſt at Bury St Edmunds, and afterwards at Weſtminſter. But the moſt valuable part of his early education was that for which he was indebted to the taſte and intelligence of his mother. We inſert with pleaſure the following amiable paragraph.

'It was in theſe intervals from ſchool that my mother began to form both my taſte and my ear for poetry, by employing me every evening to read to her, of which art ſhe was a very able miſtreſs. Our readings were, with very few exceptions, confined to the choſen plays of Shakeſpear, whom ſhe both admired and underſtood in the true ſpirit and ſenſe of the author. Under her inſtruction I became paſſionately fond of theſe our evening entertainments; in the mean time, ſhe was attentive to model my recitation, and correct my manner with exact preciſion. Her comments and illuſtrations were ſuch aids and inſtructions to a pupil in poetry, as few could have given. What I could not elſe have underſtood, ſhe could aptly explain; and what I ought to admire and feel, nobody could more happily ſelect and recommend. I well remember the care ſhe took to mark out for my obſervation, the peculiar excellence of that unrivalled poet, in the conſiſtency and preſervation of his characters; and wherever inſtances occurred amongſt the ſtarts and ſallies of his unfettered fancy, of the extravagant and falſe ſublime, her diſcernment oftentimes prevented me from being ſo dazzled by the glitter of the period as to miſapply my admiration, and betray my want of taſte. With all her father's critical *acumen*, ſhe could trace, and teach me to unravel, all the meanders of his metaphor, and point out where it illuminated, or where it only loaded and obſcured the meaning. Theſe were happy hours and intereſting lectures to me, whilſt my beloved father, ever placid and complacent, ſate beſide us, and took part in our amuſement: his voice was never heard but in the tone of approbation; his countenance never marked but with the natural traces of his indelible and hereditary benevolence.' p. 39. 40.

The

The effect of theſe readings was, that the young author, at twelve years of age, produced a ſort of drama, called 'Shakeſpeare in the Shades,' compoſed almoſt entirely of paſſages from that great writer, ſtrung together and aſſorted with no deſpicable ingenuity. He has inſerted rather a long extract from this juvenile compilation. There is next an animated and minute account of his ſtudies at Weſtminſter, with flattering characters of the head maſters, from Nichols to Vincent. Throughout the work, indeed, he is too full of eulogies, and ſeems reſolved to deſerve every body's good word, by the moſt profuſe and indulgent commendation. At this early period of his life, he firſt ſaw Garrick in the character of Lothario, and has left this animated account of the impreſſion which the ſcene made upon his mind.

'I have the ſpectacle even now, as it were, before my eyes. Quin preſented himſelf, upon the riſing of the curtain, in a green velvet coat embroidered down the ſeams, an enormous full-bottomed periwig, rolled ſtockings, and high-heeled ſquare-toed ſhoes: with very little variation of cadence, and in a deep full tone, accompanied by a ſawing kind of action, which had more of the ſenate than of the ſtage in it, he rolled out his heroics with an air of dignified indifference, that ſeemed to diſdain the plaudits that were beſtowed upon him. Mrs Cibber, in a key high pitched, but ſweet withal, ſung, or rather recitatived, Rowe's harmonious ſtrain, ſomething in the manner of the Improviſatories: it was ſo extremely wanting in contraſt, that, though it did not wound the ear, it wearied it: when ſhe had once recited two or three ſpeeches, I could anticipate the manner of every ſucceeding one. It was like a long old legendary ballad of innumerable ſtanzas, every one of which is ſung to the ſame tune, eternally chiming in the ear without variation or relief. Mrs Pritchard was an actreſs of a different caſt, had more nature, and of courſe more change of tone, and variety both of action and expreſſion. In my opinion, the compariſon was decidedly in her favour. But when, after long and eager expectation, I firſt beheld little Garrick, then young and light, and alive in every muſcle and in every feature, come bounding on the ſtage, and pointing at the wittol Altamont and heavy-paced Horatio—heavens, what a tranſition! —it ſeemed as if a whole century had been ſtept over in the tranſition of a ſingle ſcene; old things were done away, and a new order at once brought forward, bright and luminous, and clearly deſtined to diſpel the barbariſms and bigotry of a taſteleſs age, too long attached to the prejudices of cuſtom, and ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the illuſions of impoſing declamation. This heaven-born actor was then ſtruggling to emancipate his audience from the ſlavery they were reſigned to; and though at times he ſucceeded in throwing in ſome gleams of new-born light upon them, yet in general they ſeemed to *love darkneſs better than light*; and in the dialogue of altercation between Horatio and Lothario, beſtowed far the greater *ſhow of hands* upon the maſter of the old ſchool than upon the founder of the new. I thank my ſtars, my feelings in thoſe

thoſe moments led me right; they were thoſe of nature, and therefore could not err.' p. 59. 60.

In his fourteenth year he was entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he ſeems to have lived a very regular, ſtudious, and innocent life; and acquired great reputation by *keeping an act*, at the age of ſeventeen, againſt 'a finiſhed mathematician, and black-bearded philoſopher from the North country.' He took his bachelor's degree with equal honour; and obtained a high place among *the wranglers* of his year. Upon this occaſion he makes a conſiderable digreſſion in praiſe of mathematical learning, and contends, with much zeal, that it is to the neglect of theſe ſtudies that we ſhould impute all the bad argument we hear in common converſation. We do not think this propoſition made out by demonſtrative evidence; but it leads the author to make ſome lively obſervations, which we ſhall ſubjoin as a fair ſpecimen of the general diſquiſitions which he has occaſionally introduced into theſe memoirs.

'Hear the crude opinions that are let looſe upon ſociety in our table converſations; mark the wild and wandering arguments that are launched at random, without ever hitting the mark they ſhould be levelled at: what does all this noiſe and nonſenſe prove, but that the talker has indeed acquired the fluency of words, but never known the exerciſe of thought, or attended to the developement of a ſingle propoſition? Tell him that he ought to hear what may be ſaid on the other ſide of the queſtion—he agrees to it, and either begs leave to wind up with a few words more, which he winds and wire-draws without end; or, having pauſed to hear, hears with impatience a very little, foreknows every thing you had further to ſay, cuts ſhort your argument, and bolts in upon you with—an anſwer to that argument—? No; with a continuation of his own gabble; and, having ſtifled you with the torrent of his traſh, places your contempt to the credit of his own capacity, and fooliſhly conceives he talks with reaſon, becauſe he has not patience to attend to any reaſoning but his own.

'There are alſo others, whoſe vivacity of imagination having never felt the trammels of a ſyllogiſm, is for ever flying off into digreſſion and diſplay—

Quo teneam nodo mutantem Protea formas?—

'To attempt at hedging in theſe cuckows is but loſt labour. Theſe gentlemen are very entertaining, as long as novelties with no meaning can entertain you; they have a great variety of opinions, which, if you oppoſe, they do not defend, and if you agree with, they deſert. Their talk is like the wild notes of birds, amongſt which you ſhall diſtinguiſh ſome of pleaſant tone, but out of which you compoſe no tune or harmony of ſong. Theſe men would have ſet down Archimedes for a fool, when he danced for joy at the ſolution of a propoſition, and miſtaken Newton for a madman, when in the ſurplice, which he put on for chapel over

ever night, he was found the next morning, in the ſame place and poſture, fixed in profound meditation on his theory of the priſmatic colours. So great is their diſtaſte for demonſtration, they think no truth is worth the waiting for; the mountain muſt come to them, they are not by half ſo complaiſant as Mahomet. They are not eaſily reconciled to truiſms, but have no particular objection to impoſſibilities. For argument they have no ear; it does not touch them; it fetters fancy, and dulls the edge of repartee. If by chance they find themſelves in an untenable poſition, and wit is not at hand to help them out of it, they will take up with a pun, and ride home upon a horſe laugh: if they can't keep their ground, they won't wait to be attacked and driven out of it. Whilſt a reaſoning man will be picking his way out of a dilemma, they, who never reaſon at all, jump over it, and land themſelves at once upon new ground, where they take an impoſing attitude, and eſcape purſuit. Whatever theſe men do, whether they talk, or write, or act, it is without deliberation, without conſiſtency, without plan. Having no expanſe of mind, they can comprehend only in part; they will promiſe an epic poem, and produce an epigram: In ſhort, they glitter, paſs away, and are forgotten; their outſet makes a ſhow of mighty things; they ſtray out of their courſe into by-ways and obliquities; and, when out of ſight of their contemporaries, are for ever loſt to poſterity.' p. 81–84.

This is certainly very briſk and lively, but it does not correſpond at all with our notions of good writing. It is the ſtyle of a ſmart talker, ſpoiled by the habit of writing comedies; every thing is broken into points, and varniſhed into brilliancy; there is a conſtant exaggeration, which offends againſt candour and ſober judgment; and an unremitting and viſible effort, which is painful and oppreſſive to the imagination. His characters of individuals have ſomething of the ſame faults; he ſeems always to ſtudy effect, much more than truth of delineation; and exaggerates the characteriſtic, till the natural can no longer be recognized. On the ſtage this is neceſſary, like rouge and falſe eyebrows; but it defeats the very end of delineating real characters, and begets a diſtruſt, that ſtands equally in the way of our pleaſure and our information.

Mr Cumberland, whoſe health had been injured by too cloſe application to ſtudy, now paſſed ſome months at York, in a ſtate of complete intellectual relaxation, if we may judge from the complexion of the ſtanzas with which he has filled three or four pages as a ſpecimen of his occupations upon this excurſion. He now began to turn his thoughts to the clerical profeſſion, and to take meaſures for ſecuring his election as a fellow of his college; but was tempted from the ſtudies and purſuits to which he had always been inclined both by his own diſpoſitions and the example of his reſpected anceſtors, by an offer which was made on the part of Lord Halifax, then at the head of the Board of Trade,

to receive him into the ſituation of his private ſecretary. This change of his proſpects and views in life, he has lived long enough, he aſſures us, to regret moſt bitterly. The account which he gives of his firſt impreſſions, on being thus thruſt into the great ſociety of London, is ſufficiently ſtriking and natural.

'The whole town indeed was before me; but it had not for me either friend or relation, to whom I could reſort for comfort or for counſel. With a head filled with Greek and Latin, and a heart left behind me in my college, I was completely out of my element. I ſaw myſelf unlike the people about me, and was embarraſſed in circles, which according to the manners of thoſe days were not to be approached without a ſet of ceremonies and manœuvres, not very pleaſant to perform, and, when awkwardly performed, not very edifying to behold. In theſe graces Lord Halifax was a model: his addreſs was noble and impreſſive; he could never be miſtaken for leſs than he was, whilſt his official ſecretary, Pownall, who egregiouſly overacted his imitations of him, could as little be miſtaken for more than he was. In the world, which I now belonged to, I heard very little, except now and then a quotation from Lord Halifax, that in any degree intereſted me; there were talkers, however, who would take poſſeſſion of a ſubject as a highwayman does of a purſe, without knowing what it contained, or caring whom it belonged to: many of theſe gentlemen had doubtleſs found that ignorance had been no obſtacle to their advancement, and now they ſeemed reſolved it ſhould be no bar to their aſſurance. I found there was a polite as well as a political gloſſary, which involved myſteries little leſs obſcure than thoſe which are couched under the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and I perceived that whoſoever had the ready uſe and apt application of thoſe paſs-words, was by right looked up to as the beſt bred and beſt informed man in the company.' p. 102.

A little afterwards, he follows out the ſame train of thinking in that peculiar and ambitious ſtyle which we have already ventured to diſapprove of. After profeſſing his own want of the faculty of noting times and ſeaſons, and ſeizing lucky minutes with addreſs and promptitude, he ſays,

'A man, who is gifted with theſe lucky talents, is armed with hands, as a ſhip with grappling irons, ready to catch hold of, and make himſelf faſt to every thing he comes in contact with; and ſuch a man, with all theſe properties of adheſion, has alſo the property, like the polypus, of a moſt miraculous and convenient indiviſibility; cut off his hold, nay, cut him how you will, he is ſtill a polypus, whole and entire. Men of this ſort ſhall work their way out of their obſcurity like cockroaches out of the hold of a ſhip, and crawl into notice, nay even into king's palaces, as the frogs did into Pharaoh's. Theſe are the ſtray children, turned looſe upon the world, whom fortune in her charity takes charge of, and for whoſe guidance in the by-ways and croſs-roads of their pilgrimage ſhe ſets up fairy finger-poſts, diſcoverable by them whoſe eyes are

are near the ground, but unperceived by ſuch whoſe looks are raiſed above it.

'But there are more than theſe. Vain men will have their flatterers, rich men their followers, and powerful men their dependants. A great man in office is like a great whale in the ocean; there will be a ſword-fiſh and a threſher, a Junius and a John Wilkes, ever in his wake and arming to attack him: Theſe are the vext ſpirits of the deep, who trouble the waters, turning them up from the very bottom, that they may emerge from their mud, and float upon the ſurface of the billows in foam of their own making.

'But whilſt theſe men may be ſaid to fight their way into conſequence, and ſo long as they can but live in notice are content to live in trouble, there is a vaſt majority of eaſy, unambitious, courteous humble ſervants, whoſe unoffending vanity aſpires no higher than like Samſon's bees to make honey in the bowels of a lion, and fatten on the offal of a rich man's ſuperfluities. They aſk no more of fortune than to float like the horſe-dung with the apples, and enjoy the credit of good company as they travel down the ſmooth and eaſy ſtream of life. For theſe there is a vaſt demand, and their talents are as various as the uſes they are put to. Every great, rich, and conſequential man, who has not the wiſdom to hold his tongue, muſt enjoy his privilege of talking, and there muſt be dull fellows to liſten to him: again, if, by talking about what he does not underſtand, he gets into embarraſſments, there muſt be clever fellows to help him out of them: when he would be merry, there muſt be witty rogues to make him laugh; when he would be ſorrowful, there muſt be ſad rogues to ſigh and groan and make long faces: as a great man muſt be never in the wrong, there muſt be hardy raſcals, who will ſwear he is always in the right; as he muſt never ſhow fear, of courſe he muſt never ſee danger; and as his courage muſt at no time ſink, there muſt be friends at all times ready to prevent its being tried.' p. 112—115.

He left London for a ſhort time, to ſtand candidate for his fellowſhip, which he obtained with great honour, though not without conſiderable ſtruggle and oppoſition: and on his return to town, ventured for the firſt time to the preſs with a churchyard elegy, in imitation of Gray. Soon after, he projected an epic poem on the diſcovery of India, of which a conſiderable part was executed. He has inſerted ſix or ſeven pages, as a ſpecimen, in this work; but we hope the public is to ſee no more of it: it is cumbrous, proſaic, and utterly unintereſting.

Soon after this, Mr Cumberland's father exchanged his living of Stanwick for that of Fulham, in order that his ſon might have the benefit of his ſociety, while obliged to reſide in the vicinity of the metropolis. The celebrated Bubb Dodington reſided at this time in the neighbouring pariſh of Hammerſmith; and Mr Cumberland, who ſoon became a frequent gueſt at his table, has given a very entertaining account of his character

and peculiarities. We ſhall inſert as much as we can make room for.

'Our ſplendid hoſt was excelled by no man in doing the honours of his houſe and table; to the ladies he had all the courtly and profound devotion of a Spaniard, with the eaſe and gaiety of a Frenchman towards the men. His manſion was magnificent, maſſy, and ſtretching out to a great extent of front, with an enormous portico of Doric columns, aſcended by a ſtately flight of ſteps; there were turrets and wings that went I know not whither, though now they are levelled with the ground, and gone to more ignoble uſes: Vanbrugh, who conſtructed this ſuperb edifice, ſeemed to have had the plan of Blenheim in his thoughts, and the interior was as proud and ſplendid as the exterior was bold and impoſing. All this was exactly in uniſon with the taſte of its magnificent owner, who had gilt and furniſhed the apartments with a profuſion of finery, that kept no terms with ſimplicity, and not always with elegance or harmony of ſtyle. Whatever Mr Dodington's revenue then was, he had the happy art of managing it with that regularity and economy, that I believe he made more diſplay at leſs coſt, than any man in the kingdom but himſelf could have done. His town houſe in Pall-Mall, his villa at Hammerſmith, and the manſion above deſcribed, were ſuch eſtabliſhments as few nobles in the nation were poſſeſſed of. In either of theſe he was not to be approached but through a ſuite of apartments, and rarely ſeated but under painted ceilings and gilt entablatures. In his villa you were conducted through two rows of antique marble ſtatues, ranged in a gallery floored with the rareſt marbles, and enriched with columns of granite and lapis lazuli; his ſaloon was hung with the fineſt Gobelin tapeſtry, and he ſlept in a bed encanopied with peacock's feathers in the ſtyle of Mrs Montague. When he paſſed from Pall-Mall to La Trappe it was always in a coach, which I could ſuſpect had been his ambaſſadorial equipage at Madrid, drawn by ſix fat unwieldy black horſes, ſhort docked and of coloſſal dignity: neither was he leſs characteriſtic in apparel than in equipage; he had a wardrobe loaded with rich and flaring ſuits, each in itſelf a load to the wearer, and of theſe I have no doubt but many were coeval with his embaſſy above mentioned, and every birth-day had added to the ſtock. In doing this he ſo contrived as never to put his old dreſſes out of countenance, by any variations in the faſhion of the new; in the mean time, his bulk and corpulency gave full diſplay to a vaſt expanſe and profuſion of brocade and embroidery, and this, when ſet off with an enormous tye-periwig and deep-laced ruffles, gave the picture of an ancient courtier in his gala habit, or Quin in his ſtage dreſs; nevertheleſs, it muſt be confeſſed this ſtyle, though out of date, was not out of character, but harmonized ſo well with the perſon of the wearer, that I remember when he made his firſt ſpeech in the Houſe of Peers as Lord Melcombe, all the flaſhes of his wit, all the ſtudied phraſes and well-turned periods of his rhetoric loſt their effect ſimply becauſe the orator had laid aſide his magiſterial tye, and

and put on a modern bag wig, which was as much out of coſtume upon the broad expanſe of his ſhoulders, as a cue would have been upon the robes of the Lord Chief Juſtice.

'Having thus dilated more than perhaps I ſhould have done upon this diſtinguiſhed perſon's paſſion for magnificence and diſplay, when I proceed to inquire into thoſe principles of good taſte, which ſhould naturally have been the accompaniments and directors of that magnificence, I fear I muſt be compelled by truth to admit that in theſe he was deficient. Of pictures he ſeemed to take his eſtimate only by their coſt; in fact, he was not poſſeſſed of any; but I recollect his ſaying to me one day in his great ſaloon at Eaſtbury, that if he had half a ſcore pictures of a thouſand pounds a piece, he would gladly decorate his walls with them, in place of which I am ſorry to ſay he had ſtuck up immenſe patches of gilt leather, ſhaped into bugle horns, upon hangings of rich crimſon velvet, and round his ſtate bed he diſplayed a carpeting of gold and ſilver embroidery, which too glaringly betrayed its derivation from coat, waiſtcoat and breeches, by the teſtimony of pockets, button-holes and loops, with other equally incontrovertible witneſſes, ſubpœna'd from the tailor's ſhopboard. When he paid his court at St James's to the preſent queen upon her nuptials, he approached to kiſs her hand, decked in an embroidered ſuit of ſilk, with lilac waiſtcoat and breeches, the latter of which in the act of kneeling down forgot their duty, and broke looſe from their moorings in a very indecorous and uncourtly manner.' p. 140–43.

'During my ſtay at Eaſtbury, we were viſited by the late Mr Henry Fox and Mr Alderman Beckford: the ſolid good ſenſe of the former, and the daſhing loquacity of the latter, formed a ſtriking contraſt between the characters of theſe gentlemen. To Mr Fox our hoſt paid all that courtly homage, which he ſo well knew how to time and where to apply; to Beckford he did not obſerve the ſame attentions, but in the happieſt flow of his raillery and wit combated this intrepid talker with admirable effect. It was an interlude truly comic and amuſing. Beckford loud, voluble, ſelf-ſufficient and galled by hits, which he could not parry and probably did not expect, laid himſelf more and more open in the vehemence of his argument; Dodington, lolling in his chair in perfect apathy and ſelf-command, dozing and even ſnoring at intervals in his lethargic way, broke out every now and then into ſuch gleams and flaſhes of wit and irony, as by the contraſt of his phlegm with the other's impetuoſity, made his humour irreſiſtible, and ſet the table in a roar. He was here upon his very ſtrongeſt ground.' p. 144, 145.

'He wrote ſmall poems with great pains, and elaborate letters with much terſeneſs of ſtyle, and ſome quaintneſs of expreſſion: I have ſeen him refer to a volume of his own verſes in manuſcript, but he was very ſhy, and I never had the peruſal of it. I was rather better acquainted with his *diary*, which ſince his death has been publiſhed, and I well remember the temporary diſguſt he ſeemed to take, when upon his aſking what

I would do with it, ſhould he bequeath it to my diſcretion, I inſtantly replied, that I would deſtroy it. There was a third, which I more coveted a ſight of than of either of the above, as it contained a miſcellaneous collection of anecdotes, repartees, good ſayings, and humorous incidents, of which he was part author and part compiler, and out of which he was in the habit of refreſhing his memory, when he prepared himſelf to expect certain men of wit and pleaſantry, either at his own houſe or elſewhere. Upon this practice, which he did not affect to conceal, he obſerved to me one day, that it was a compliment he paid to ſociety, when he ſubmitted to ſteal weapons out of his own armoury for their entertainment, and ingenuouſly added, that although his memory was not in general ſo correct as it had been, yet he truſted it would ſave him from the diſgrace of repeating the ſame ſtory to the ſame hearers, or foiſting it into converſation in the wrong place or out of time.' p. 147, 148.

Our author next commemorates his firſt dramatic production, which was finiſhed in 1757. It was upon a moſt unfortunate ſubject, the Baniſhment of Cicero; and was accordingly rejected by Garrick, though recommended to him by the powerful intereſt of Lord Halifax. The author afterwards publiſhed it; but it has never come in our way; and we are quite ſatisfied with the ſpeeches of Gabinius and Clodius, with which he has been pleaſed to embelliſh the pages before us. About this time he obtained the ſituation of Crown agent for Nova Scotia, and ventured to marry a lady of great worth and beauty, to whom he had long been attached.

Upon the death of the King, Lord Halifax was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and Mr Cumberland propoſed to follow him into that kingdom. He takes his laſt leave of his friend Mr Dodington, now raiſed to the honour of the peerage, in the following characteriſtic ſentence.

'I had taken leave of Lord Melcombe the day preceding the coronation, and found him before a looking-glaſs in his new robes, practiſing attitudes, and debating within himſelf upon the moſt graceful mode of carrying his coronet in the proceſſion. He was in high glee with his freſh and blooming honours, and I left him in the act of dictating a billet to Lady Hervey, appriſing her that a *young lord* was coming to throw himſelf at her feet.' p. 159.

The celebrated Single-Speech Hamilton went as chief ſecretary with the Lord Lieutenant. His character is well drawn by Mr Cumberland in the following ſentences.

'He ſpoke well, but not often, in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. He had a promptitude of thought, and a rapid flow of well-conceived matter, with many other requiſites, that only ſeemed waiting for opportunities to eſtabliſh his reputation as an orator. He had a ſtriking countenance, a graceful carriage, great ſelf-poſſeſſion and perſonal courage:

rage: he was not eaſily put out of his way by any of thoſe unaccommodating repugnances that men of weaker nerves, or more tender conſciences, might have ſtumbled at, or been checked by: he could maſk the paſſions that were natural to him, and aſſume thoſe that did not belong to him: he was indefatigable, meditative, myſterious: his opinions were the reſult of long labour and much reflection, but he had the art of ſetting them forth as if they were the ſtarts of ready genius and a quick perception: he had as much ſeeming ſteadineſs as a partiſan could ſtand in need of, and all the real flexibility that could ſuit his purpoſe, or advance his intereſt. He would fain have retained his connexion with Edmund Burke, and aſſociated him to his politics, for he well knew the value of his talents; but in that object he was ſoon diſappointed: the genius of Burke was of too high a caſt to endure debaſement.' p. 169-70.

Mr Cumberland ſeems inclined to think him the author of Junius, and adds the following anecdote in ſupport of that opinion.

'When I was called in jointly with Secretary Hamilton to take the project and rough copy of the Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech into conſideration, I could not help remarking the extraordinary efforts which that gentleman made to engraft his own very peculiar ſtyle upon the ſketch before him: in this I ſometimes agreed with him, but more commonly oppoſed him, till Lord Halifax, whoſe patience began to be exhauſted, no longer ſubmitted his copy to be diſſected, but took it to himſelf with ſuch alterations as he ſaw fit to adopt, and thoſe but few. I muſt candidly acknowledge that at times when I have heard people ſearching for internal evidence in the ſtyle of Junius as to the author of thoſe famous letters, I have called to recollection this circumſtance, which I have now related, and occaſionally ſaid that the ſtyle of Junius bore a ſtrong reſemblance to what I had obſerved of the ſtyle of Secretary Hamilton: beyond this I never had the leaſt grounds for conjecture.' p. 164.

In Dublin, Mr Cumberland was introduced to a new and a more miſcellaneous ſociety than he had hitherto been uſed to, and has preſented his readers with ſtriking ſketches of Dr Pococke and Primate Stone. We are more amuſed, however, with the following picture of George Faulkner.

'Deſcription muſt fall ſhort in the attempt to convey any ſketch of that eccentric being to thoſe who have not read him in the notes of Jephſon, or ſeen him in the mimickry of Foote, who, in his portraits of Faulkner, found the only fitter whom his extravagant pencil could not caricature; for he had a ſolemn intrepidity of egotiſm, and a daring contempt of abſurdity, that fairly outfaced imitation, and, like Garrick's Ode on Shakeſpear, which Johnſon ſaid "defied criticiſm," ſo did George, in the original ſpirit of his own perfect buffoonery, defy caricature. He never deigned to join in the laugh he had raiſed, nor ſeemed to have a feeling of the ridicule he had provoked. At the ſame time that he was preeminently, and by preference, the butt and buffoon

of the company, he could find openings and opportunities for hits of retaliation, which were ſuch left-handed thruſts as few could parry: nobody could foreſee where they would fall; nobody, of courſe, was fore-armed: and as there was, in his calculation, but one ſupereminent character in the kingdom of Ireland, and he the printer of the Dublin Journal, rank was no ſhield againſt George's arrows, which flew where he liſted, and fixed or miſſed as chance directed, he cared not about conſequences. He gave good meat and excellent claret in abundance. I ſate at his table once from dinner till two in the morning, whilſt George ſwallowed immenſe potations with one ſolitary ſodden ſtrawberry at the bottom of the glaſs, which he ſaid was recommended to him by his doctor for its cooling properties. He never loſt his recollection or equilibrium the whole time, and was in excellent foolery. It was a ſingular coincidence, that there was a perſon in company who had received his reprieve at the gallows, and the very judge who had paſſed ſentence of death upon him: but this did not in the leaſt diſturb the harmony of the ſociety, nor embarraſs any human creature preſent.' p. 174-5.

In the end of the Lieutenancy of Lord Halifax, Mr Cumberland's father was promoted to the ſee of Clonfert in Ireland; and upon that noble Lord's nomination to the high office of Secretary of State, our author ſuffered the mortification of being ſuperſeded in his ſituation of ſecretary, and ſeems to have thought himſelf but indifferently compenſated by the appointment of clerk to the Board of Trade. In this ſituation, he wrote an opera, and the comedy of 'The Brothers,' which was acted with conſiderable applauſe. There is ſome good dramatic criticiſm in this and in other parts of the book; but we are more edified by his characteriſtic anecdotes of Iriſh manners and characters, which he had an opportunity of collecting when upon a viſit to his father in his reſidence of Clonfert. They are all a little overcharged, we ſuſpect; but are very amuſing. Our readers may take the following picture of a native Iriſh baron.

'On this viſit to Mr Talbot, I was accompanied by Lord Eyre of Eyre Court, a near neighbour and friend of my father. This noble Lord, though pretty far advanced in years, was ſo correctly indigenous, as never to have been out of Ireland in his life, and not often ſo far from Eyre Court as in this tour to Mr Talbot's. Proprietor of a vaſt extent of ſoil, not very productive, and inhabiting a ſpacious manſion, not in the beſt repair, he lived according to the ſtyle of the country with more hoſpitality than elegance: whilſt his table groaned with abundance, the order and good taſte of its arrangement were little thought of: the ſlaughtered ox was hung up whole, and the hungry ſervitor ſupplied himſelf with his dole of fleſh, ſliced from off the carcaſe. His Lordſhip's day was ſo apportioned, as to give the afternoon by much the largeſt ſhare of it; during which, from an early dinner, to the hour of reſt, he never left his chair, nor did the claret ever quit the table. This

This did not produce inebriety, for it was ſipping rather than drinking, that filled up the time; and this mechanical proceſs of gradually moiſtening the human clay, was carried on with very little aid from converſation, for his Lordſhip's companions were not very communicative, and fortunately he was not very curious. He lived in an enviable independence as to reading, and of courſe he had no books. Not one of the windows of his caſtle was made to open, but luckily he had no liking for freſh air, and the conſequence may be better conceived than deſcribed.' p. 206–7.

The following traits are from the oppoſite extreme in the ſcale of ſociety.

'Amongſt the labourers in my father's garden, there were three brothers of the name of O'Rourke, regularly deſcended from the kings of Connaught, if they were exactly to be credited for the correctneſs of their genealogy. There was alſo an elder brother of theſe, Thomas O'Rourke, who filled the ſuperior ſtation of hind, or headman; it was his wife that burnt the bewitched turkies, whilſt Tom burnt his wig for joy of my victory at the cock-match, and threw a proper parcel of oatmeal into the air, as a votive offering for my glorious ſucceſs. One of the younger brothers was upon crutches in conſequence of a contuſion on his hip, which he literally acquired as follows—When my father came down to Clonfert from Dublin, it was announced to him that the biſhop was arrived: the poor fellow was then in the act of lopping a tree in the garden; tranſported at the tidings, he exclaimed—"Is my lord come? Then I'll throw myſelf out of this ſame tree for joy—." He exactly fulfilled his word, and laid himſelf up for ſome months.

'When I accompanied my mother from Clonfert to Dublin, my father having gone before, we paſſed the night at Killbeggan, where Sir Thomas Cuffe (knighted in a frolic by Lord Townſhend) kept the inn. A certain Mr Geoghegan was extremely drunk, noiſy and brutally troubleſome to Lady Cuffe the hoſteſs; Thomas O'Rourke was with us, and being much ſcandalized with the behaviour of Geoghegan, took me aſide, and in a whiſper ſaid—"Squire, will I quiet this ſame Mr Geoghegan?" When I replied, By all means, but how was it be done?—Tom produced a knife of formidable length, and demanded—"Haven't I got this? And won't this do the job; and hasn't he wounded the woman of the inn with a chopping knife; and what is this but a knife; and wou'dn't it be a good deed to put him to death like a mad dog? Therefore, Squire, do you ſee, if it will pleaſure you and my lady there above ſtairs, who is ill enough, God he knows, I'll put this knife into that ſame Mr Geoghegan's ribs, and be off the next moment on the grey mare; and is'nt ſhe in the ſtable? Therefore only ſay the word, and I'll do it." This was the true and exact propoſal of Thomas O'Rourke, and as nearly as I can remember, I have ſtated it in his very words.' p. 212–3.

On his return from Ireland, Mr Cumberland brought out his excellent play of the Weſt Indian, which was received with unbounded applauſe, and ſeems to have decided him in favour of this

this ſpecies of compoſition. He alſo wrote a pamphlet vindicating the memory of his grandfather Dr Bentley from what appeared to him an illiberal attack of Biſhop Lowth.

At this period of his ſtory he introduces ſeveral ſketches and characters of his literary friends, which are executed, for the moſt part, with great force and vivacity. Of Garrick he ſays—

'Nature had done ſo much for him, that he could not help being an actor; ſhe gave him a frame of ſo manageable a proportion, and from its flexibility ſo perfectly under command, that by its aptitude and elaſticity, he could draw it out to fit any ſizes of character, that tragedy could offer to him, and contract it to any ſcale of ridiculous diminution, that his Abel Drugger, Scrub or Fribble, could require of him to ſink it to. His eye, in the mean time, was ſo penetrating, ſo ſpeaking; his brow ſo moveable, and all his features ſo plaſtic, and ſo accommodating, that wherever his mind impelled them, they would go; and before his tongue could give the text, his countenance would expreſs the ſpirit and the paſſion of the part he was encharged with.' p. 245–6.

The following picture of Soame Jenyns is excellent.

'A diſagreement about a name or a date will mar the beſt ſtory that was ever put together. Sir Joſhua Reynolds luckily could not hear an interrupter of this ſort; Johnſon would not hear, or if he heard him, would not heed him; Soame Jenyns heard him, heeded him, ſet him right, and took up his tale, where he had left it, without any diminution of its humour, adding only a few more twiſts to his ſnuff-box, a few more taps upon the lid of it, with a preparatory grunt or two, the invariable forerunners of the amenity that was at the heels of them. He was the man who bore his part in all ſocieties with the moſt even temper and undiſturbed hilarity of all the good companions whom I ever knew. He came into your houſe at the very moment you had put upon your card; he dreſſed himſelf to do your party honour in all the colours of the jay; his lace indeed had long ſince loſt its luſtre, but his coat had faithfully retained its cut ſince the days when gentlemen embroidered figured velvets with ſhort ſleeves, boot cuffs, and buckram ſkirts: as nature had caſt him in the exact mould of an ill made pair of ſtiff ſtays, he followed her ſo cloſe in the faſhion of his coat, that it was doubted if he did not wear them; becauſe he had a protuberant wen juſt under his poll, he wore a wig that did not cover above half his head. His eyes were protruded like the eyes of the lobſter, who wears them at the end of his feelers, and yet there was room between one of theſe and his noſe for another wen, that added nothing to his beauty; yet I heard this good man very innocently remark, when Gibbon publiſhed his hiſtory, that he wondered any body ſo ugly could write a book.

'Such was the exterior of a man, who was the charm of the circle, and gave a zeſt to every company he came into; his pleaſantry was of a ſort peculiar to himſelf; it harmonized with every thing; it was like the bread to our dinner; you did not perhaps make it the whole, or principal

principal part of your meal, but it was an admirable and wholeſome auxiliary to your other viands. Soame Jenyns told you no long ſtories, engroſſed not much of your attention, and was not angry with thoſe that did; his thoughts were original, and were apt to have a very whimſical affinity to the paradox in them: he wrote verſes upon dancing, and proſe upon the origin of evil, yet he was a very indifferent metaphyſician and a worſe dancer: ill nature and perſonality, with the ſingle exception of his lines upon Johnſon, I never heard fall from his lips; thoſe lines I have forgotten, though I believe I was the firſt perſon to whom he recited them; they were very bad, but he had been told that Johnſon ridiculed his metaphyſics, and ſome of us had juſt then been making extemporary epitaphs upon each other; though his wit was harmleſs, yet the general caſt of it was ironical; there was a terſeneſs in his repartees, that had a play of words as well as of thought; as, when ſpeaking of the difference between laying out money upon land, or purchaſing into the funds, he ſaid, "One was principal without intereſt, and the other intereſt without principal." Certain it is he had a brevity of expreſſion, that never hung upon the ear, and you felt the point in the very moment that he made the puſh." p. 247—249.

Foote is frequently introduced. The following ſtory we think very ludicrous.

'I remember well, when Garrick and I made him a viſit, poor Foote had ſomething worſe than a dull man to ſtruggle with, and matter of fact brought home to him in a way that, for a time, entirely overthrew his ſpirits, and moſt completely *frighted him from his propriety*. We had taken him by ſurpriſe, and of courſe were with him ſome hours before dinner, to make ſure of our own if we had miſſed of his. He ſeemed overjoyed to ſee us, engaged us to ſtay, walked with us in his garden, and read to us ſome ſcenes roughly ſketched for his Maid of Bath. His dinner was quite good enough, and his wine ſuperlative: Sir Robert Fletcher, who had ſerved in the Eaſt Indies, dropt in before dinner, and made the fourth of our party: When we had paſſed about two hours in perfect harmony and hilarity, Garrick called for his tea, and Sir Robert roſe to depart: there was an unlucky ſcreen in the room that hid the door, and behind which Sir Robert hid himſelf for ſome purpoſe, whether natural or artificial I know not; but Foote, ſuppoſing him gone, inſtantly began to play off his ridicule at the expence of his departed gueſt. I muſt confeſs it was (in the cant phraſe) *a way that he had*, and juſt now a very unlucky way, for Sir Robert bolting from behind the ſcreen, cried out—"I am not gone, Foote; ſpare me till I am out of hearing; and now, with your leave, I will ſtay till theſe gentlemen depart, and then you ſhall amuſe me at their coſt, as you have amuſed them at mine." p. 250–1.

Of Goldſmith he ſays,

'That he was fantaſtically and whimſically vain, all the world knows; but there was no ſettled and inherent malice in his heart. He was tena-

cious

cious to a ridiculous extreme of certain pretenſions that did not, and by nature could not, belong to him, and at the ſame time inexcuſably careleſs of the fame which he had powers to command. His table-talk was, as Garrick aptly compared it, like that of a parrot, whilſt he wrote like Apollo; he had gleams of eloquence, and at times a majeſty of thought, but, in general, his tongue and his pen had two very different ſtyles of talking. What foibles he had he took no pains to conceal; the good qualities of his heart were too frequently obſcured by the careleſſneſs of his conduct, and the frivolity of his manners. Sir Joſhua Reynolds was very good to him, and would have drilled him into better trim and order for ſociety, if he would have been amenable; for Reynolds was a perfect gentleman, had good ſenſe, great propriety, with all the ſocial attributes, and all the graces of hoſpitality, equal to any man.

'Diſtreſs drove Goldſmith upon undertakings neither congenial with his ſtudies nor worthy of his talents. I remember him, when in his chamber in the Temple, he ſhewed me the beginning of his *Animated Nature;* it was with a ſigh, ſuch as genius draws, when hard neceſſity diverts it from its bent to drudge for bread, and talk of birds and beaſts and creeping things, which Pidcock's ſhow-man would have done as well. Poor fellow, he hardly knew an aſs from a mule, nor a turkey from a gooſe, but when he ſaw it on the table.' p. 257–9.

In purſuing the ſame ſpeculation, he introduces another ſtill more celebrated character.

'Who will ſay that Johnſon himſelf would have been ſuch a champion in literature, ſuch a front-rank ſoldier in the fields of fame, if he had not been preſſed into the ſervice, and driven on to glory with the bayonet of ſharp neceſſity pointed at his back? If fortune had turned him into a field of clover, he would have laid down and rolled in it. The mere manual labour of writing would not have allowed his laſſitude and love of eaſe to have taken the pen out of the inkhorn, unleſs the cravings of hunger had reminded him that he muſt fill the ſheet before he ſaw the table-cloth. He might, indeed, have knocked down Oſbourne for a blockhead, but he would not have knocked him down with a folio of his own writing. He would perhaps have been the dictator of a club, and wherever he ſate down to converſation, there muſt have been that ſplaſh of ſtrong bold thought about him, that we might ſtill have had a collectanea after his death; but of proſe I gueſs not much, of works of labour none, of fancy perhaps ſomething more, eſpecially of poetry, which, under favour, I conceive was not his tower of ſtrength.' p. 259–60.

'Anecdotes of times paſt, ſcenes of his own life, and characters of humouriſts, enthuſiaſts, crack-brained projectors, and a variety of ſtrange beings, that he had chanced upon, when detailed by him at length, and garniſhed with thoſe epiſodical remarks, ſometimes comic, ſometimes grave, which he would throw in with infinite fertility of fancy, were a treat, which, though not always to be purchaſed by five and twenty cups of tea, I have often had the happineſs to enjoy for leſs than half the

the number. He was eaſily led into topics; it was not eaſy to turn him from them; but who would wiſh it? If a man wanted to ſhew himſelf off by getting up and riding upon him, he was ſure to run reſtive and kick him off; you might as ſafely have backed Bucephalus, before Alexander had lunged him. Neither did he always like to be over-fondled; when a certain gentleman out-acted his part in this way, he is ſaid to have demanded of him—'What provokes your riſibility, Sir? Have I ſaid any thing that you underſtand?—Then I aſk pardon of the reſt of the company—' But this is Henderſon's anecdote of him, and I won't ſwear he did not make it himſelf.' p. 263–264.

'I have heard Dr Johnſon relate with infinite humour the circumſtance of his reſcuing Goldſmith from a ridiculous dilemma, by the purchaſe-money of his Vicar of Wakefield, which he ſold on his behalf to Dodſley, and, as I think, for the ſum of ten pounds only. He had run up a debt with his landlady, for board and lodging, of ſome few pounds, and was at his wit's-end how to wipe off the ſcore, and keep a roof over his head, except by cloſing with a very ſtaggering propoſal on her part, and taking his creditor to wife, whoſe charms were very far from alluring, whilſt her demands were extremely urgent. In this criſis of his fate he was found by Johnſon, in the act of meditating on the melancholy alternative before him. He ſhewed Johnſon his manuſcript of the Vicar of Wakefield, but ſeemed to be without any plan, or even hope, of raiſing money upon the diſpoſal of it; when Johnſon caſt his eye upon it, he diſcovered ſomething that gave him hope, and immediately took it to Dodſley, who paid down the price above mentioned in ready money, and added an eventual condition upon its future ſale. Johnſon deſcribed the precautions he took in concealing the amount of the ſum he had in hand, which he prudently adminiſtered to him by a guinea at a time. In the event he paid off the landlady's ſcore, and redeemed the perſon of his friend from her embraces.'—— p. 273.

Theſe are almoſt all the literary characters of whom Mr Cumberland has made any particular mention; and though we are little more than half through the volume, we believe we are not very far from the concluſion of our extracts. The remainder of it is occupied, chiefly, with the perſonal tranſactions and family arrangements of the author, in which, it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the public ſhould take any great intereſt. His father was tranſlated to the ſee of Kilmore, and died ſoon after. Our author himſelf wrote a variety of plays, and ſome odes and other poems, which had reſpectively their merited ſucceſs, and was appointed Secretary to the Colonial Department, through the friendly intereſt of Lord George Germain, then at the head of that Board. He was ever afterwards the zealous friend and defender of his patron; and ſpent much of his time in his ſociety. The following anecdote ſtruck us as curious and important.

It

'It happened to me to be preſent, and ſitting next to Admiral Rodney at table, when the thought ſeemed firſt to occur to him of breaking the French line, by paſſing through it in the heat of the action. It was at Lord George Germain's houſe at Stoneland, after dinner, when, having aſked a number of queſtions about the manœuvring of columns, and the effect of charging with them on a line of infantry, he proceeded to arrange a parcel of cherry-ſtones, which he had collected from the table, and forming them as two fleets drawn up in line, and oppoſed to each other, he at once arreſted our attention, which had not been very generally engaged by his preparatory inquiries, by declaring he was determined ſo to pierce the enemy's line of battle, (arranging his manœuvre at the ſame time on the table) if ever it was his fortune to bring them into action.' p. 298.

This ſtatement, at firſt ſight, appears to be inconſiſtent with the claim of our ingenious countryman Mr Clerk of Eldin to the brilliant and important diſcovery to which it alludes; and to ſay the truth, we cannot help entertaining ſome doubts of Mr Cumberland's accuracy in the detail of a converſation which took place five and twenty years before he committed it to writing; but upon attending to the circumſtances of the caſe, it does not appear to us that the anecdote, even if recorded with perfect correctneſs, affords the ſlighteſt ground for calling in queſtion the originality or importance of Mr Clerk's admitted diſcovery. Even if Admiral Rodney had really conceived this brilliant idea at the very moment commemorated by Mr Cumberland, it is apparent that Mr Clerk had been beforehand with him in the conception; and we ſhould only have the extraordinary, though not unprecedented, caſe of the ſame diſcovery having been made ſucceſſively by two ſeparate individuals. The converſation recorded by Mr Cumberland appears to have taken place recently before the Admiral's departure for the Weſt Indies in January 1780; but Mr Clerk had brought his plan to maturity, and communicated the particulars of it to ſeveral perſons, immediately after Keppel's action off Uſhant, nearly two years before, and while Admiral Rodney was reſident abroad. But this is not all. Mr Clerk has himſelf ſtated, in his preface, that having gone to London in the end of the year 1779, he had a meeting, by appointment, with Mr R. Atkinſon, Admiral Rodney's particular friend, and another with Sir Charles Douglas his Captain, at which he detailed, and fully explained to theſe gentlemen, every part of his ſyſtem, for the expreſs purpoſe of having it communicated to the Admiral before his departure with the fleet which he had been appointed to command. Mr Clerk adds, that he underſtood that ſuch a communication was accordingly made, and that he has it from the beſt authority, that the Admiral expreſſed his zealous approbation of the ſcheme before he left London, and, after his return, made no

ſcruple

ſcruple to acknowledge that it was Mr Clerk who had ſuggeſted the manœuvres by which he had obtained the victory of the 12th April 1782. Theſe facts, we have no doubt, may ſtill be eſtabliſhed; and it is pleaſing to obſerve, that they rather ſerve to explain, than to contradict, the particulars related by Mr Cumberland. It is not very likely that a ſcheme of ſuch magnitude ſhould ſuggeſt itſelf, for the firſt time, in the gaiety of a converſation at table; but if it had been recently communicated to the noble Admiral, it is abundantly natural that the accidental mention of breaking lines of infantry in land battles, ſhould lead him to ſpeak of it; and if he did not happen to mention with whom the ſuggeſtion had originated, it was equally natural for Mr Cumberland to ſuppoſe that it had that moment preſented itſelf.

Soon after this, Mr Cumberland was induced to undertake a private miſſion to the Court of Spain, of which he has introduced a very long and languiſhing account; and for the trouble and expences of which, he complains very vehemently that he has received no compenſation on the part of the Britiſh Government. Our tribunal is not competent to the determination of ſuch cauſes. Nor would any tribunal, we ſuppoſe, think it expedient to hazard an opinion upon the ſtatement of one of the parties. There are ſome little pieces of good deſcription interſperſed in the dull diplomacy of the hundred quarto pages to which the Spaniſh biography is extended; and a curious account of a wonderful gypſey actreſs at Madrid, which we regret not being able to extract.

Upon his return, Mr Cumberland had ſoon to witneſs the demolition of the Board of Trade, in conſequence of Mr Burke's Reform Bill; and was deprived of his ſecretaryſhip, on a compenſation ſcarcely amounting to a moiety of what was taken away. Upon this diminiſhed income he retired with his family to Tunbridge Wells, where he has continued ever ſince to reſide, and to amuſe himſelf by writing eſſays, comedies, novels, and theſe memoirs.

There is little in the ſubſequent part of the book that ſeems to require any detail. The author criticizes his own works with conſiderable candour and acuteneſs, and with little more than a natural partiality. He aſſures us, that the Iſraelites never made him any acknowledgment for the exertions he made in their favour; and this ſtrain of ingratitude ſeems to have gone far to ruin them in his good opinion. He gives a long account of the retirement and death of Lord Sackville; and runs into a very ſilly and ſplenetic rhapſody on the fame of the Young Roſcius, whoſe gains and popularity have evidently afflicted him more than was neceſſary. He praiſes the poetical labours of Sir James Bland Burges and Mr Hayley; and informs us, that Junius is ſavage; Sterne,

Sterne, frivolous and pathetic; and Edmund Burke, graceful in his anger, and musical even in his madness. The volume closes with a tribute to the filial piety of his youngest daughter.

We will pronounce no general judgment on the literary merits of Mr Cumberland; but our opinion of them certainly has not been raised by the perusal of these memoirs. There is no depth of thought, nor dignity of sentiment about him;—he is too frisky for an old man, and too gossiping for an historian. His style is too negligent even for the most familiar composition; and though he has proved himself, upon other occasions, to be a great master of good English, he has admitted a number of phrases into this work, which, we are inclined to think, would scarcely pass comment even in conversation. 'I declare to truth'—'with the greatest pleasure in life'—'She would lead off in her best manner,' &c. are expressions which we should not expect to hear in the society to which Mr Cumberland belongs;—'laid,' for lay, is still more insufferable from the antagonist of Lowth, and the descendant of Bentley;—'querulential' strikes our ear as exotic;—'locate, location, and locality,' for situation simply, seem also to be bad; and 'intuition,' for observation, sounds very pedantic, to say the least of it. Upon the whole, however, this volume is not the work of an ordinary writer; and we should probably have been more indulgent to its faults, if the excellence of some of the author's former productions had not sent us to its perusal with expectations perhaps somewhat extravagant.

ART. IX. *European Commerce, shewing new and secure Channels of Trade with the Continent of Europe: detailing the Produce, Manufactures, and Commerce, of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany; as well as the Trade of the Rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems: With a General View of the Trade, Navigation, Produce and Manufactures, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and its unexplored and improveable and interior Wealth.* By J. Jepson Oddy, Member of the Russia and Turkey or Levant Companies. 4to. pp. 622. London, 1805.

A BOOK containing such a mass of commercial information as is here presented to us, must be interesting at all times to a country like Great Britain; but, in the present state of our trade, it acquires a new and extraordinary value. The hostilities which have shut us out of the ports of the South, have added prodigiously to the importance of those which are still open in the North; and

as theſe are now the great inlets through which the tide of our commerce is poured over the continent of Europe, we liſten with particular intereſt to all thoſe details or obſervations by which we may be enabled to ſecure or to enlarge their advantages.

The author has taken great pains with this work; and has laboured, by minute directions and innumerable tables, to make it practically uſeful. He certainly has not failed altogether in this aim; but it is neceſſary, we think, to premiſe, that his attainments appear to us to be by no means of a high order, and that his judgments ſeem frequently to be perverted by the doctrines of an exploded ſyſtem of political economy. The general view which we propoſe to give of the plan and contents of the book, will enable our readers, however, to judge for themſelves of its pretenſions.

The work is divided into ſeven books, of which the firſt is appropriated to *Ruſſia*. The progreſs which this great country is deſtined to make among the nations, cannot fail to intereſt the philoſophical obſerver; and there is ſomething extremely grand in the proſpective view of her commercial and political advancement. If Ruſſia only attains one third of the population that is commonly poſſeſſed by countries at all favourably ſituated, ſhe will ſtill reckon a hundred and twenty-five millions of inhabitants; and there is reaſon to think that this multiplication is going on with conſiderable rapidity. Mr Tooke eſtimates the whole population of the empire at thirty-ſix millions; but Mr Oddy thinks it may now be carried, without fear of exaggeration, to forty millions. The growing proſperity of this empire is materially aſſiſted by the ſyſtematic efforts of the Government to facilitate commercial intercourſe between all its parts. Canals are made, from time to time, to connect the numerous rivers which fall into the ſeas upon its extremities. Thus the Bereſinſky and Oginſky canals open an eaſy communication between the ports of the Baltic and thoſe of the Euxine; and the canal of Viſhney Volotoſhok connects the Gulf of Finland with the diſtant harbours of the Caſpian. Some idea of the increaſing induſtry of Ruſſia may be formed, by comparing the number of veſſels of all kinds that paſſed through this famous canal, which joins the Neva and Wolga, in the years 1787 and 1797. In the former, the number was 2914 barks, 357 half barks, 178 boats, and 1984 floats, paying 24,689 rubles of toll or duty; in the latter, 3958 barks, 382 half barks, 248 boats, and 1676 floats, paying 34,192 rubles.

The articles for exportation conſiſt chiefly of iron, wood, hemp and flax both raw and manufactured, tallow and grain. The exportation of wood was ſome years ago prohibited, on account of the great waſte in the foreſts; but it has again been permitted,

under certain reſtrictions. By adopting proper regulations for the management of the foreſts, Mr Oddy thinks this article might be rendered one of the moſt productive and permanent ſtaples of Ruſſian commerce. Hemp and flax, and their products, conſtitute, at preſent, the moſt important part of the annual exports. The value of theſe exported in 1802, amounted to 21,176,432 rubles. From the tables produced by Mr Oddy, it appears that agriculture is rapidly advancing; for, in 1793, the value of grain exported was only 3,121,597 rubles; whereas, in 1802, it had increaſed to 11,496,245.

Mr Oddy gives a very full account of the different ſeaports in Ruſſia, accompanied with tables to illuſtrate the hiſtory and actual ſtate of their trade. Archangel, as is well known, was the chief place of trade, till Peter the Great created a new city, which produced a complete revolution in the commerce of the North. Three parts of the whole trade of the empire is now carried on in the Baltic. St Peterſburgh, or Cronſtadt and Riga, are the principal ports in this ſea; but there are ſeveral others which ſhare the benefits of that commercial ſpirit ſo aſſiduouſly encouraged by the Government. In the Black Sea, Odeſſa has, by unremitted exertions on the part of the Government, become a place of conſiderable importance, and bids fair to rival, in time, the moſt flouriſhing marts of the Baltic. Our author, indeed, is inclined to think, that the trade of the Baltic is deſtined to undergo, at no diſtant period, a revolution ſimilar to that which took place in the trade of the White Sea after the building of Peterſburg. At preſent, however, the foreign trade of Ruſſia in this ſea is nearly confined to the provinces of the Turkiſh empire, from which conſiderable importations are annually made.

It is impoſſible to examine the author's tables and ſtatements of the foreign trade of Ruſſia, without being ſtruck with the immenſe advantages which ſhe derives from her intercourſe with Britain. Her ſales to this country, it appears, are nearly equal to all her other ſales put together. Notwithſtanding all this, there is, according to Mr Oddy, a ſtrong jealouſy entertained by that power, of our naval ſuperiority, and a manifeſt deſire on her part to underrate the value of the connexion. If this be really true, which we much doubt, at leaſt in the extent ſtated by Mr Oddy, it muſt follow, that the Government is much in the dark regarding the true intereſts of the country; for it cannot be doubted that her commerce is nouriſhed and upheld by the preponderance of the Britiſh navy. What elſe is it that brings the peculiar articles of Ruſſian produce into demand? What would become of the trade in theſe articles, and of the induſtry that miniſters to it, were the maritime power of Britain reduced to a level with that of other

other ſtates? The inference is obvious and irreſiſtible. We are, however, inclined to think that our author's remarks upon this ſubject refer more to the ſpirit which animated the latter part of the wayward adminiſtration of Paul, than to the preſent times. Both countries, we hope, have, ſince that period, attained ſuch notions of the points then in diſpute, as will in future ſecure their adherence to more pacific and accommodating maxims.

The productions, manufactures, and commerce of *Pruſſia* are treated of in the Second Book. The poſſeſſions of this power extend nearly four hundred miles along the ſouthern coaſts of the Baltic, embracing ſeveral fine rivers and convenient harbours. It is partly through theſe that our manufactures and colonial productions are now conveyed to the interior of the continent. The rivers communicating with Koningſberg, open a ſafe inland navigation, even to the Black Sea. Through this channel the Britiſh Turkey trade may be ſafely carried on, and at a cheaper rate, than by the Mediterranean. Riga, however, in the dominions of Ruſſia, poſſeſſes, as the author has ſhewn, greater facilities for this branch of trade; for the goods ſhipped there get much ſooner into the current of the Dnieper, which conveys them ſtraight to Odeſſa. Stettin upon the Oder affords another wide channel for our commerce with the continent. This fine river runs through a great part of the North of Germany, and there are ſeveral canals which connect it with the Elbe and other rivers. So long, therefore, as the trade by the Elbe and the Weſer is interrupted, our author conſiders Stettin as one of the moſt convenient and extenſive inlets for Britiſh merchandize.

Dantzic is the chief grain market of the North. A late traveller * eſtimates the amount of all the grain exported from this place, in the year 1803, at 34,149 laſts, each containing eighty-four Wincheſter buſhels. But in Mr Oddy's tables for the ſame year, we find the amount ſtated at 68,278 laſts, each rated at eighty-ſix buſhels. This wide variation, (though we have no doubt of Mr Oddy's ſuperior accuracy) ſerves to ſhew with what caution ſuch ſtatements ought always to be received. The following extract exhibits a curious contraſt between the negligence that prevails in bringing the grain to Dantzic, and the anxious precautions with which it is guarded when warehouſed there.

'All kind of grain conveyed to Dantzic, but particularly that from a great diſtance, is brought down in veſſels, or rather floats, clumſily put together, of different dimenſions and deſcriptions, according to the rivers or places they are firſt ſent out from; and, what will appear very extraordinary, without any covering but that of the canopy of heaven. In this

 ſtate,

* Mr Carr—Northern Summer.

ſtate, uncovered, or any ways protected, it is brought from the moſt remote parts, expoſed to all ſorts of weather, ſometimes ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, or even ten weeks on its paſſage. If the ſeaſon happens to be wet, the grain is piled in the veſſel or float, with a ridge to ſhoot off the wet, which, continuing ſome time, the ſurface becomes one coat of vegetative matter, like a green graſs-plat, floating down the current, and which partly prevents the rain penetrating farther than a few inches. The waſte and loſs, however, muſt be incredible in wet ſeaſons, and even otherwiſe; for the feathered tribe, as the float proceeds along, are their conſtant cuſtomers, even into the very city of Dantzic. Strange as this may appear, but which the author has been repeatedly an eye witneſs to, theſe people have never yet been prevailed upon to have tarpaulings, or any covering, which would, in a wet ſeaſon, doubly repay them for the firſt coſt.'—

'The warehouſes here are upon an excellent plan, ſituated upon an iſland formed by the river Mottlau, running cloſe by the city on one ſide, and another branch by what is called the Foreſtadt on the other. There are three bridges on each ſide of the iſland, at the end of ſtreets over it from the city to the Foreſtadt. In the night all the bridges are drawn up, excepting the two at the end of the main ſtreet, acroſs the centre of the iſland, communicating betwixt the old city and the Foreſtadt. To guard thoſe warehouſes are from twenty to thirty ferocious dogs of a large ſize, amongſt which are blood-hounds, let looſe at eleven o'clock in the night. To command, and to keep the dogs within their diſtricts, as well as the paſſengers from harm, at the end of each of the ſtreets leading to the main one are large high gates run acroſs: no light is allowed, nor any perſon ſuffered to live on this iſland. The dogs prowl about the whole night, and create great terror.'

Pruſſia, by the extenſive range of coaſt ſhe has acquired, has certainly ſecured the means of obtaining a large ſhare of the Baltic trade. But though poſſeſſed of theſe natural facilities, ſhe does not yet ſeem to have learned the rudiments of that ſcience on which commercial proſperity depends. The narrow notions of Frederic, whoſe genius, ſplendid as it was in negotiation and war, never embraced any of the great principles of commercial policy, are ſtill cheriſhed with undiminiſhed attachment by the cabinet of Berlin. Our author, however, ſpeaks much of the great encouragement afforded to induſtry. And if monopolies and prohibitions are wiſe expedients for promoting induſtry, it muſt be allowed this government is by no means idle. But Pruſſia muſt govern herſelf by other maxims, or be contented with a very ſubordinate place in the ſcale of manufacturing and commercial nations.

The third book treats of the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, which, on account of its high cultivation, and the quantity of grain it exports, Mr Oddy denominates the Egypt of the North. The imperial

imperial city of Lubec is ſituated in this dutchy; and as it has an eaſy communication with the North Sea, by means of the Holſtein canal; and with the Elbe, by that of Stecknitz, it is, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, a place of great commercial importance.

In the fourth book, the author goes on to *Sweden*, a country, he ſays, of but ſlow progreſs in the career of improvement. One great cauſe of her backward ſtate is the unfavourableneſs of the climate for the growth of grain. This is ſo great, that Mr Oddy aſſerts there are ſcarcely three ripe crops in the ſpace of ten years. She has, however, conſiderable reſources in wood and iron, and in the fiſheries. The Swediſh iron is well known to be of excellent quality; there are at preſent about five hundred founderies in employment, and the annual produce is eſtimated at about 53,330 Engliſh tons. Britain, every where the great encourager of induſtry, takes more than half of the whole quantity exported.

It has long been a favourite project with the Swediſh monarchs, to open a paſſage through that country between the North Sea and the Baltic. This plan, worthy of Rome in the plenitude of her power, was originally conceived by Guſtavus Vaſa. Conſiderable progreſs has been made towards its accompliſhment; and though there are ſtill great obſtacles in the way, Mr Oddy is inclined to think they are far from inſurmountable. We recollect that Mr Phillips, a very competent judge, expreſſes the ſame opinion with confidence in his Hiſtory of Inland Navigation. The completion of this grand undertaking would contribute much to the internal improvement of Sweden, and, through her, afford the other nations of Europe a paſſage into the Baltic, independent of the Sound and the Belts.

From Sweden the author proceeds to the dominions of *Denmark*; and though he is ſingularly confuſed in this as in ſome other parts of his work, there is yet much uſeful information communicated. The details regarding Huſum and Tonningen will be found particularly intereſting. This latter port, ſcarcely known beyond the dominions of his Daniſh Majeſty, till the malignant and abſurd policy of Bonaparte had driven commerce from its natural channels, is now become the focus of commercial intercourſe between England and the Continent. It maintains a great trade with different places on the Elbe, and particularly with Hamburgh, having, in fact, become the port of that city ſince its blockade. Denmark has, in ſeveral reſpects, been a gainer by the wars in which the other nations of Europe are or have been lately engaged. In times of peace ſhe is computed to gain nearly four millions of ſix dollars by the carrying trade; but the war has given her an al-

moſt excluſive poſſeſſion of that branch of induſtry, beſides enabling her to proſecute the fiſhing trade without competition. From Mr Oddy's tables it appears, that, excluſive of the home conſumpt, and the tranſport by land from Norway to Sweden, there was exported in 1802 no leſs than 411 cargoes, containing about 26,500 tons of fiſh. The exportation had increaſed from 256 cargoes to this amount between the years 1799 and 1802.

Mr Oddy maintains, that the progreſs of Denmark has not nearly kept pace with the advantages of her ſituation. Her people, he alleges, are ſlow to invent and as ſlow to imitate, and have not yet acquired that true commercial ſpirit which generates univerſal activity and emulation, and carries nations forward by rapid movements in the career of wealth and power. He concludes the account of Denmark with a general view of the commerce of the Baltic, from which we learn, that the ſhare of Great Britain in that trade amounts (leaving grain out of the calculation) to at leaſt two thirds of the whole. This affords a ſtriking view of the intereſt all theſe nations have in the permanent proſperity of this country. As the articles ſold conſiſt entirely of native productions, the trade is certainly more advantageous to them than to us; but, at the ſame time, we cannot conclude as Mr Oddy does, in the true ſpirit of the mercantile ſyſtem, that all the gains are on their ſide, and that we have only loſs.

The author gives to the ſixth book a title to which it aſſuredly has no claim; for inſtead of an account of 'the Commerce of *Germany* in general,' as it promiſes, we have only an account of that carried on by three of its rivers, the Elbe, the Weſer, and the Ems. Upon theſe rivers, indeed, he is quite at home, and abundantly communicative; and his account of their trade, ſuch as it lately was, and of the commercial viciſſitudes of Hamburgh ſince the French revolution, is very intereſting. The Ems being under the protection of Pruſſia is ſtill open; and ſhort as its courſe is, the Britiſh goods which come into it find their way through every intervening obſtacle, even to Italy. It is curious to learn that, by this channel, ſome of the indigo which we export, goes even to France to dye cloth for the armies of the great enemy of Britiſh induſtry. So indiſpenſable is our commerce.

The ſeventh and laſt book is of a very deſultory nature; but its principal object ſeems to be, to point out the means by which Britain may obtain naval ſtores and other neceſſaries without going to the Baltic. This is a favourite ſpeculation with Mr Oddy. He is perſuaded the Northern powers do not hold us in due eſtimation; that they look upon us as their dependants, and flatter themſelves that, by withholding the ſupply of naval ſtores, they could at any time cruſh our power. He maintains alſo, that they

demand

demand extravagant prices from us, upon the ſuppoſition that our dependence upon them obliges us to pay whatever they demand. Thinking in this manner, he often expreſſes great ſurpriſe that Britain does not take immediate meaſures to ſecure herſelf againſt the precarious and ſelfiſh friendſhips of the Scandinavian nations. The following paſſage, which we ſelect becauſe it is ſhort, will ſerve to ſhow how he feels and reaſons upon this matter.

'It is matter of no ſmall aſtoniſhment that Great Britain, ſo celebrated for her political wiſdom and commercial prudence, which has riſen her to power and conſequence in the world, chiefly by her maritime ſtrength, ſhould groſsly have neglected cultivating within herſelf a great part of her naval ſtores, the very ſoul and ſinews of her greatneſs and preſervation, particularly after the many ſalutary admonitions at an early period *, and the attempt at monopoly by foreign powers, the armed neutrality in 1780, and the confederacy of the North in 1800. Great Britain makes herſelf dependent, as it were, upon theſe nations for the very articles on which her exiſtence depends, and neglects thoſe domeſtic reſources which ſhe might ſo advantageouſly carry into effect, not only to a national, but individual benefit.' p. 489.

With a view to ſuch an improvement of our national reſources, he treats, firſt, of the fiſheries; and maintains, that no ſcheme for their extenſion will be effectual that does not enable poor people to enter into that trade. Bounties, he ſays, are of no uſe; for they do not enable any one, who has not the means otherwiſe, to undertake fiſhing. He propoſes, therefore, that boats and tackle ſhould be provided at the fiſhing ſtations, and hired out for a ſum juſt ſufficient to pay intereſt, tear and wear, under the direction of the miniſters and elders in the Scotch pariſhes, and by the ſuperintendants of the poor in England.

He next recommends, in terms of extreme urgency, the cultivation of timber at home, and even propoſes compulſory meaſures for that purpoſe. This is his great reſource, indeed, upon all occaſions; for Mr Oddy is one of thoſe who think that governments ought to interfere in every thing. Meantime, he is of opinion the timber trade might be advantageouſly transferred to our North American plantations. The foreſts there contain abundance of excellent timber, which he ſays can be brought to this country a great deal cheaper than from the Baltic, with the additional national benefit of employing double the number of ſeamen, and double the tonnage of ſhipping. Some details are given upon the ſubject, which muſt be extremely valuable to ſuch as may engage

* 'The Swedes, in 1703, refuſed to let England have pitch and tar, unleſs received in their own ſhips, at their own price.'

in this trade. We were surprised, however, to find the author distinctly admitting, that the price of wood in the countries round the Baltic is regulated by the common principles, after having so often complained of the arbitrary monopoly demands of the northern merchants. Some of his reasonings on this point remind us of the declamations of certain French writers against our grievous monopoly of colonial productions.

Great advantages would, in Mr Oddy's opinion, accrue to the empire at large, but particularly to Ireland, from a more extended cultivation of hemp and flax. From personal observation, he asserts that the peasantry of Ireland are in a worse situation than the peasantry of any country in Europe; and this, in the midst of greater resources than most of them enjoy. He thinks that, by affording every possible encouragement to this species of culture, for which the soil and climate are peculiarly adapted, the condition of this misguided people might be materially improved. With regard to the bounty, Mr Oddy contends that it would be more effective if paid, not when the flax or hemp is brought to a marketable state, but when the ground is sown; for in this way the cultivator would be remunerated, although his crop should not succeed.

Mr Oddy contends zealously for the cultivation of the waste lands in this island. The vast importations we are obliged to make, while we neglect so many millions of acres susceptible of cultivation, is, he thinks, a circumstance altogether unaccountable. It is much easier, however, to unfold the causes of this evil, than to indicate a remedy; but this is a discussion into which we cannot at present enter. Our author entertains very sound notions with regard to the corn bounties; and, though not qualified for the subtilties of political analysis, succeeds in proving that they are altogether nugatory and impolitic. A conviction of the inutility of these paltry expedients, may, in time, lead to measures of greater efficacy in this important branch of economical administration. Meantime, we think Mr Oddy's proposal of making this country an *entrepôt* for grain, merits the attention of those whose duty it is to strengthen the empire by such seasonable and politic expedients as are suggested by the circumstances of the times. The following extract will make our readers acquainted with the author's ideas upon this subject.

'Nature, or rather Providence, has formed this island an impregnable emporium, where all the world, but particularly those who are driven from the trade of Holland and Hamburgh, would readily fly, if we would give them a courteous reception. Situated as we are between the Baltic and the southern parts of Europe, and likewise for the trade

between

between Europe and America, Britain ſhould become the magazine of the univerſe.

'Let all foreign grain, then, be allowed importation at all times under the King's lock, upon the principle of an *entrepôt*, there let it lay the pleaſure of the owner for a market. We are better ſituated for it than Holland was; if any demand ſhould be made from the ſouthern markets, our own ſhips can be got out from our ports at all ſeaſons of the year, which is not the caſe in Holland.

'We ſpeak from fact and our own knowledge, that, was ſuch a principle adopted, the corn-dealers in the north of Europe, and thoſe who have long been in the trade in other quarters, would cheerfully avail themſelves of it. But it is not only from the Baltic that conſiderable ſupplies of grain would be ſent to ſuch an *entrepôt*, but from America; their conſcious ſecurity of the country, although they were ſeeking for markets, would always induce them, as they now often do, to touch at Ark or Falmouth, to learn the ſtate of the European markets, or call for orders. Great numbers of the American merchants, and they are moſtly bold and enterprizing, would at once ſend their produce here for a market, and take our manufactures in return.

'From foreign grain being ſtored in this manner, would ariſe a certain advantage to the country. If, whilſt our waſte lands are getting into cultivation, any failure of our crops ſhould take place, the ſtock in hand might be brought into the market by the regulations of the preſent, or ſome more judicious act. Monopoly, which is ſo much cried down, would not exiſt in the face of a large unknown ſtock; and if the price advanced under theſe circumſtances, it would riſe from an actual deficiency in the country, to ſupply which we ſhould then always have a ſtock in ſtore; for want of ſuch a ſtock, prices frequently rapidly advance here, and the advance is anticipated abroad; ſo that it coſts us enormous prices unneceſſarily created.' p. 511, 512.

The ſhort view which we have given of the contents of this book, leaves us but little to add upon its general merits. The author is never profound or philoſophical in his views; nor does he ſeem to have powers for clear or comprehenſive reaſoning. He is often vague, redundant, deſultory, and inconſiſtent; and his diction is mean and clumſy. But he is a man of great experience, and no ſmall practical ſagacity; and has produced a book more ſuited to the wants and to the capacity of ordinary traders, than the greater part of thoſe which are founded upon juſter maxims of policy.

ART.

ART. X. *Eſſays, chiefly on Chemical Subjects.* By William Irvine, M. D. F. R. S. Ed., Lecturer in Materia Medica and Chemiſtry in the Univerſity of Glaſgow; and by his ſon W. Irvine, M. D. 8vo. pp. 490. London, 1805.

IT has often been regretted by thoſe who have paid attention to that intereſting part of chemical ſcience, which relates to the more abſtruſe doctrines of heat, that the theory propoſed by the late Dr Irvine was never fully brought before the public. He himſelf gave no account of it, but in the chemical lectures which he delivered in the Univerſity of Glaſgow; and although the heads of it have been ſtated by Dr Crawford, who was well qualified to do it juſtice, the ſtatement was only incidental, ſubordinate to his own views, and, of courſe, unaccompanied by thoſe details and illuſtrations which its author could have beſt given it, and which were neceſſary on a ſubject in ſome meaſure obſcure. From this cauſe, although the outline of the theory has been generally known, its real merits have ſcarcely ever been fairly appreciated; it has often been miſunderſtood, nor has it yet had that rank aſſigned to it in chemical ſcience to which it appears to us to be entitled.

Having long been accuſtomed to conſider this theory of the diſtribution of heat in bodies, and of its abſorption during liquefaction and vaporization, as the moſt philoſophical that has yet been ſuggeſted, we turned to the peruſal of this work with much curioſity and expectation. We have ſtill to regret, however, that we have not the author's own ſtatement and illuſtration of his peculiar views, or have them only in a very imperfect manner. In the preface, we are informed that Dr Irvine's manuſcripts, at leaſt in what relates to this ſubject, were in no reſpect fit for publication, and were even in ſuch a ſtate, that no ſatisfactory account of the experiments and theory could have been compiled from them. To Dr Irvine, junior, the editor of this publication, there only remained the alternative of availing himſelf of them as far as poſſible, in explaining and illuſtrating what he knew from other ſources of his father's opinions; and although this is not preciſely what thoſe intereſted in the diſcuſſion would have wiſhed, nor what we are perſuaded it would have been the wiſh of the editor to preſent to the public, it is but juſtice to him to acknowledge, that he appears to be intimately acquainted with the ſubject; that he has beſtowed on it much attention; and has conveyed to us ſome intereſting information on his father's experiments. If ſome tincture of enthuſiaſm may, as he remarks, be expected in a ſon, who treats of

of his father's labours, we have not obſerved any want of candour, or any undue partiality to the doctrines he defends.

Dr Black was the diſcoverer of the important truth, that when a body is heated to the point at which it begins to melt, it is not ſufficient to communicate to it merely a little more heat to produce an entire change in its form; but that as the change proceeds, it abſorbs a large quantity of caloric, which has no effect in increaſing the temperature of the fluid, and which exiſts therefore in the body in this new form, in a ſtate not diſcoverable by the thermometer. And again, that when the liquid is heated to the point at which it paſſes into vapour, a ſimilar abſorption of caloric, unaccompanied with any augmentation of temperature, takes place. The heat exiſting in this ſtate Dr Black termed latent, to diſtinguiſh it from ſenſible heat, or that by which the temperature of the body is raiſed.

In ſpeculating on this important truth, Dr Black ſuppoſed that the caloric which thus diſappears is the cauſe of the change of form; that the latent heat, exiſting in a fluid or vapour, is that which preſerves it in theſe ſtates; and that the vapour cannot be condenſed, nor the liquid congealed, without this latent heat being withdrawn.

Dr Irvine viewed theſe phenomena in a different light; he regarded the abſorption of caloric, not as producing, but as ariſing from the change of form. Dr Black had eſtabliſhed, from an experiment related by Boerhave, the important general concluſion, that in different bodies the ſame temperature is not, as we might perhaps be diſpoſed to imagine *à priori*, produced by the ſame quantity of heat or caloric, but that one body will require a very different quantity from that required by another; and that, therefore, at any given point in the ſcale of the thermometer, different bodies, in equal quantities, whether eſtimated by weight or volume, contain very different quantities of this principle; a fact which came to be expreſſed, by ſaying that different bodies have different *capacities for heat.*

Now, it occurred to Dr Irvine, that the abſorption of heat which attends both the melting of a body, and its tranſition into the elaſtic ſtate, might be owing to an alteration in its capacity. When a ſolid becomes liquid, or a liquid is converted into vapour, he ſuppoſed that its capacity or power of containing heat may be enlarged; and if this happen, the neceſſary conſequence muſt be the abſorption of a quantity of caloric to keep up its temperature to the point in the ſcale of heat at which the change takes place. By ſaying that the capacity of a body is enlarged, nothing more is meant, than that, at a given temperature, it is capable of containing more caloric than formerly. If ſuch an enlargement happen, therefore,

therefore, a quantity of caloric muſt be abſorbed, by which the temperature will not be raiſed: this portion of caloric will diſappear, or will not be diſcovered by the thermometer, and the phenomena of what Dr Black termed Latent heat, will be produced.

Dr Irvine 'was not diſpoſed to conſider the entrance of what is called latent heat into bodies as happening upon different principles from thoſe which always direct the operations of caloric upon matter. Though ready to admit the diſcoveries of Dr Black, in all their extent and importance, and no man thought more highly of them, as none more fully appreciated their value, he imagined that latent heat was only a caſe of what occurred in every affection of bodies by heat, and that the caloric exiſted there preciſely in the ſame way as at other times, and could be diſcovered by the ſame teſts which at any time give notice of its preſence. Not willing to deſcend to a diſpute concerning a term, he was ready to admit the phraſe, latent heat, as the expreſſion of a new and curious fact, though not without ſome modification in the exact ſenſe to be attached to it. He was accuſtomed to obſerve, that the latent heat followed as a mere conſequence of his peculiar view of the operations of caloric; by this aſſertion, not claiming any ſhare in the honour of diſcovering the exiſtence of latent heat, but expreſſing that his theory being granted, the previous diſcovery of Dr Black fell into it as a part of a whole.' p. 50, 51.

The queſtion then to be decided was, does this enlargement of capacity happen during theſe changes of form? To aſcertain this, Dr Irvine made a number of experiments; and one of the moſt valuable parts of the preſent work is the account that is given of the manner in which theſe experiments were performed, as, with regard to this, chemiſts had hitherto no preciſe information. It had even been ſuppoſed that they had been made in a manner which would have rendered them altogether inconcluſive, by mixing ice and water together at different temperatures. The ice would thus be melted, and a quantity of caloric would diſappear. This might be owing to a change of capacity; but it might alſo be owing to the caloric entering into a more intimate combination. To ſay that it was owing to the former cauſe, would have been merely taking for granted the point in diſpute. It was neceſſary, therefore, to render the experiment concluſive, that the capacity of the ſolid ſhould be aſcertained while it remained ſolid, and that of the fluid while it was fluid, and that in the progreſs of the experiment neither ſhould change its form. The difficulty of executing ſuch an experiment with accuracy muſt be obvious; and with regard to ice it could be performed only when the temperature of the atmoſphere is very conſiderably below 32° of Fahrenheit; a cold which in our climate does not often occur; and when it does, is not of long duration. The ſubject, it appears,

pears, had engaged the attention of Dr Irvine for a number of years; and it would have been much to be regretted, had all record of his experiments been loſt. A general account, however, ſufficiently ſatisfactory, has fortunately been preſerved.

The method employed, was to determine the reſpective capacities of ice and water by the medium of a third ſubſtance, which could firſt be mixed with the one at temperatures below 32°, and afterwards with the other at temperatures above this, and thus afford indications which would not be ambiguous from any change of form.

'He found the capacities of ſome ſuitable bodies, as river ſand, or iron filings, and compared them with that of water in the uſual manner. This being done, he uſed the ſame body to examine the capacity of pounded ice formed from diſtilled water, or of ſnow. The temperature of the room and veſſel was, in his experiments, always either 32° or below it; moſt commonly conſiderably under 32°. He then took a known weight of ſnow or ice of a known temperature, in a veſſel of which the capacity was determined by experiment. Upon this he poured a certain quantity of river ſand waſhed, or iron filings of a certain temperature, with as much rapidity as poſſible; the new temperature was obſerved after ſtirring, and allowance was made for the heat gained or loſt: the temperature of the mixture was frequently 19°, 20°, 25°, 16°, &c. So that in a room where the air was below the freezing point, the accuracy of the reſult could not be affected by the formation of any water: ſtill there are many ſources of inaccuracy remaining. But in Dr Irvine's hands, the capacity of ice always turned out to be leſs than that of water. In all his experiments, which were very numerous, and repeated with care for many ſucceeding years, he arrived at reſults approximating to each other, and concluded, to uſe his own words, that from the mean of all his trials, the capacity or relative heat of water to that of ice is not in a ratio greater than 5 to 4 or 10 to 8.

'In like manner, Dr Irvine extended his theory to all other bodies whatever, and in ſome caſes determined, and in all inferred, that it is a general law of nature, that the capacity of all ſolids for heat is increaſed by fuſion, and that of all fluids by vaporiſation. This law, the exiſtence of which was not before even ſuſpected, muſt be conſidered as a highly important obſervation, as all generaliſations of facts are to be regarded, and that whether the theory which is attempted to be deduced from it be ultimately eſtabliſhed or overthrown.' p. 55—57.

Do theſe experiments then prove the truth of Dr Irvine's theory? Of this, we conceive, no juſt doubt can be entertained. Did the abſorption of heat, which attends the melting of a body, ariſe from that heat entering into any peculiar ſtate of combination—were the peculiarity in the relation of the body to caloric limited, as Dr Black in his ſpeculations conceived it to be, to the actual liquefaction, it is obvious that the liquid, after it was formed,

formed, ſhould ſuffer the ſame riſe of temperature from a given quantity of caloric that the ſolid does. We learn, however, that it does not; it requires more caloric in the proportion, according to Dr Irvine, in the caſe of ice and water, of 10 to 8. Its capacity has therefore been enlarged; and with this fact it is impoſſible to maintain the theory of Dr Black, at leaſt in its original form. The enlargement of capacity muſt occaſion an abſorption of caloric without any increaſe of temperature; or the cauſe, proved by experiment to exiſt, muſt neceſſarily produce the phenomena of latent heat; and the hypotheſis of Dr Black is not only unneceſſarily introduced, but ſeems to be awkwardly combined with a principle, of the truth of which we have experimental proof.

The ſimplicity of Dr Irvine's theory is its chief recommendation, and is ſingularly contraſted with the complicated hypotheſis of Free and Combined Caloric. It regards this agent as exiſting in bodies only in one ſtate; that which produces the general effect, we denominate temperature. It is acknowledged as a law, unequivocally eſtabliſhed, that different bodies require different quantities of it to produce the ſame temperature; and at any point, therefore, in the ſcale of the thermometer, they will contain unequal quantities. If one body be fixed on as a ſtandard, another may contain more caloric at a given temperature, and this exceſs may be ſaid to be latent, as not being diſcoverable by the thermometer. But there is evidently no propriety in the diſtinction, nor any reaſon to regard the exceſs of caloric in thoſe which contain more than the aſſumed ſtandard, as in any reſpect different from the other portion they contain, or from that which is contained in others. If we extend the ſame principle to the different ſtates in which a body exiſts, as well as to different bodies, we adopt the moſt ſimple and comprehenſive view which can be taken of the diſtribution of caloric; and if the principle be eſtabliſhed by actual experiment, why ſhould there be any heſitation in receiving it in this caſe as well as in the other? The two are perfectly alike. At a given temperature, water contains more caloric than ice, and it alſo contains more caloric than lead. The quantity which it contains above lead, is ſaid to be owing to its greater capacity: why ſhould not the ſame cauſe be aſſigned for the greater quantity it contains compared with that exiſting in ice? Even as an hypotheſis, analogy would be directly in favour of ſuch a concluſion; and if eſtabliſhed by experiment, the theory, in each of theſe caſes, reſts preciſely on the ſame grounds.

It may be urged, perhaps, that, granting an augmentation of capacity to attend liquefaction or vaporiſation, it is not proved to be

be proportional to the abſorption of caloric, which likewiſe takes place. It is indeed ſcarcely poſſible to do ſo. But why limit the theory, by ſuppoſing, without any proof, that they are not proportional? or why render it complicated, by the introduction of an unneceſſary aſſumption? If it were proved, indeed, that they were not proportional; if it were ſhewn that part of the caloric which diſappears does actually enter into a peculiar combination or ſtate of exiſtence; or if there were any reaſon to believe that the phenomena attending the change of form could not be fully accounted for on the fact of a change of capacity—then, the limitation would be proper, and the charm of ſimplicity muſt be ſacrificed to truth. But none of theſe points are eſtabliſhed, and therefore, they cannot be aſſumed as grounds of objection to the theory.

It is not ſhewn, nor, indeed, until an unexceptionable method be diſcovered of aſcertaining the abſolute heats of bodies, on ſome other principle than the changes of capacity which they ſuffer in changing their form, can it be ſhewn, that the quantity abſorbed is not proportional to the change of capacity. The difference between the capacity of water and that of ice, it may be ſaid, is only as 10 to 9; yet in the converſion of ice into water, not leſs than 140 degrees of Fahrenheit are abſorbed, while in the after elevation of the temperature of the water, the quantity requiſite is only one tenth more than that neceſſary to raiſe equally the temperature of ice. But it is to be recollected, that the quantity abſorbed at the moment of change is that which is neceſſary to preſerve the temperature of the body in its new form, through the whole range of the thermometrical ſcale, from the point of abſolute privation; and as we do not know with preciſion the extent of this range, it is an abſolute impoſſibility to ſhew that the quantity abſorbed is more or leſs than it ought to be; nor is there any reaſon, from any knowledge we have of the ſcale of temperature, to infer that it is.

Neither is there any ſound reaſon for believing that the portion of caloric which diſappears in liquefaction or vaporiſation, enters into any combination more intimate, or at all different from that in which the reſt of the caloric in the body exiſts. The doctrine of combined caloric has little ſolid ſupport; but whether it be eſtabliſhed or not, it has been improperly ſtated as oppoſed to the doctrine of Irvine on latent heat. It is true that Dr Irvine, and alſo Dr Crawford, maintained the poſition, that no portion of caloric exiſts in bodies in a combined ſtate different from that which produces temperature, and that the whole they contain is proportioned to their capacities. But even this is not neceſſary to ſupport the

the theory, that the abſorption of caloric, when bodies change their form, is owing to change of capacity. It might be admitted that a portion of caloric does exiſt in bodies in a combined ſtate, without the concluſion following, that the quantity abſorbed in liquefaction and vaporiſation enters into ſuch a ſtate. The theory of this is to be inferred from the phenomena connected with it; and theſe give no countenance to the ſuppoſition that the caloric which diſappears, or any part of it, enters into any peculiar or intimate combination.

Laſtly, all the phenomena of latent heat are ſatisfactorily accounted for on the principle of a change of capacity. It is true, that it has been urged againſt this theory, that there are phenomena connected with the change of form for which it does not account. The great objection ſtated by Dr Black himſelf, and the only one not founded on miſconception that has ever been urged againſt it is, that it does not account for the change itſelf. When a body is heated up to its melting point, what cauſes it to become liquid? Not ſenſible caloric, it is ſaid; for the liquid, at its formation, is of no higher temperature than the ſolid from which it has been formed. The change, therefore, it has been inferred, muſt be owing to part at leaſt of the caloric which diſappears, entering into combination with the ſolid; and on this latent heat the fluidity is ſuppoſed to depend, while it is not diſputed but that another portion may become latent from a change of capacity.

If Dr Irvine junior has failed in any part of the defence of his father's doctrine, we think it is in what relates to this objection. He firſt endeavours to obviate its force, by maintaining, in oppoſition to thoſe who have hitherto adopted that doctrine, that it is not a juſt ſtatement of it, that the form of a body is firſt changed, then its capacity enlarged, and laſtly, that an abſorption of caloric takes place.

'The difference between the whole heat in water at 32°, and the whole heat of ice at 32°, is called the latent heat of that body; and ice being converted into water, requires this quantity of caloric to retain its temperature at the ſame degree as before. But this caloric does not enter the ice before its capacity is changed. Much leſs is the capacity enlarged before the caloric enters the body. Theſe events are ſynchronous, and are neither cauſe nor effect of each other, but are mutually the conſequence of certain attractions or properties, which the ice and caloric are reſpectively poſſeſſed of.' p. 62.

Now, we are convinced that this view is erroneous. We have not been able to diſcover whether Dr Irvine himſelf has left any memorial of his opinion upon this ſubject; but we conceive it to be a neceſſary part of his ſyſtem, that the form of a body is firſt changed; that

that by this the capacity is enlarged; and that from this, again, a quantity of caloric is abſorbed, and becomes latent. What other cauſe is to alter the capacity? Not ſurely the ſpecific combination of a portion of caloric; for this would be a modification of Dr Black's theory; and the queſtion would recur, what determines this combination? The cauſe muſt be aſſumed to be that change in the conſtitution of the body—in the arrangement of its particles which accompanies fluidity. And this change of capacity, when it does happen, muſt neceſſarily be immediately attended with an abſorption of caloric, and muſt therefore be regarded as its cauſe. The three events are no doubt, to our obſervation, ſimultaneous; but they are not actually ſo: the one muſt momentarily, at leaſt, precede the other; or, on the oppoſite ſuppoſition, we ſhall have no diſtinct view of the difference in the theories of Irvine and Black.

Dr Irvine does not appear, indeed, to be very well ſatisfied with this view of his father's doctrine; and he endeavours to ſhew that the objection may be otherwiſe obviated. Various powers, he conceives, may operate, the operation of which we cannot eaſily trace; ſuch as electricity, magnetiſm, and galvaniſm: and 'ſomething ought to be allowed for ſuch circumſtances, when we reaſon concerning the action of particles among each other.' p. 65. This reaſoning the opponents of the ſyſtem he defends will not, we are afraid, regard as ſatisfactory, and we conceive it to be altogether unneceſſary. Did our limits admit of the diſcuſſion, we believe that it would not be difficult to ſhew that the change muſt be aſcribed to the operation of ſenſible caloric alone; that it is the reſult of its accumulating expanſive power counteracting the coheſive attraction; that this change muſt happen at an indiviſible point in the thermometrical ſcale; and that there is no force in this objection to Dr Irvine's ſyſtem.

It has ſometimes been ſaid, that the view which Dr Irvine gives of theſe phenomena is ultimately the ſame with that given by Dr Black. Dr Black himſelf was ſenſible that it was not, and that Dr Irvine's theory was oppoſed to his. The ſame general fact, indeed, is admitted in both, or rather it is this fact for which they profeſs to account. A quantity of caloric is abſorbed during liquefaction and vaporiſation, without producing increaſe of temperature; but the cauſe aſſigned for this is very different in the one theory from what it is in the other. Dr Black always regarded this as exiſting in the fluid or vapour in ſome peculiar ſtate different from that portion of caloric which produces temperature, and which he denominated ſenſible heat. Dr Irvine conſidered it as not in the leaſt different, as to its mode of exiſtence, from the reſt of the caloric which the body contains, or from that which

is contained in others. In conſequence of the change of form, that body is capable of containing more caloric than it could do, while in its former ſtate, at the ſame temperature, or requires more to produce a given temperature; and the caloric it abſorbs, goes merely with the caloric it formerly contained, to preſerve the temperature at which the change of form happened. Dr Black conſidered the change in the relation of the body to caloric as limited to the moment of liquefaction. Dr Irvine conceived the idea that it was not thus limited, but that this new relation was henceforward poſſeſſed by the fluid, and that in all ſubſequent elevations of temperature, the body, in this form, abſorbs more caloric than it did while in the ſolid ſtate. The two theories, therefore, whatever may be their merits, are totally diſtinct.

We have been told, too, that Dr Black's theory is ſimply the expreſſion of the fact; that it is a plain doctrine, which, to be diſputed, muſt be miſunderſtood. It would be ſo, if it merely announced, that when a ſolid becomes liquid, or a liquid is converted into vapour, a quantity of caloric is abſorbed, which does not produce augmentation of temperature. But when it is affirmed that this portion of heat is the cauſe of fluidity, and is united with the body in ſome peculiar mode, to which its latent ſtate is owing, it becomes an hypotheſis, in oppoſition to which the theory of Irvine may be fairly oppoſed. Of their comparative merits, we believe few will doubt who examine them with attention. Dr Black's may appear conformable to ſome looſe analogies drawn from chemical combination. The other, independent of its experimental proof, is more ſimple and more conformable to the laws which caloric, in its relations to bodies, obſerves. To Dr Black will remain the honour of having diſcovered and eſtabliſhed, by a ſeries of admirable experiments, the general fact, that when bodies become liquid or aeriform, they abſorb portions of caloric which do not augment their temperature; and to Dr Irvine, if we miſtake not, will belong the praiſe of having given the juſt theoretical view of this important phenomenon. We conſider the ſcience as indebted to the editor for having brought the ſubject fully before the attention of chemiſts; and we have little doubt that he will have the ſatisfaction of having contributed to eſtabliſh his father's fame.

Another intereſting ſubject connected with Dr Irvine's theory, it is known, engaged the attention of that philoſopher—the determination of the real zero or point at which the ſcale of temperature commences, or at which bodies would be deprived of caloric. At what diſtance from a given temperature, ſuppoſe that of freezing water, will this be found? It will be obvious to thoſe who know any thing of the doctrines of heat, that ſuch an actual

actual reduction of temperature as would reach this point is impracticable; and it muſt therefore, if the ſolution of the problem is to be attempted, be determined by calculation.

Dr Irvine was led, by the views his theory ſuggeſted, to the invention of a method of aſcertaining the natural zero or point of total privation of heat, this method being 'founded on the conſideration of the change of the capacity of bodies during their fuſion, and of the quantity of caloric neceſſary to produce fluidity.' It is fully ſtated (p. 116.) from a manuſcript of Dr Irvine's, which, from its length, we cannot inſert. We can only obſerve, that it reſts on the aſſumption that the quantity of caloric contained in bodies is proportioned to their capacity. If, therefore, the difference in the capacity of a body in its different ſtates, for example, in thoſe of ſolidity and fluidity, be determined, and if the quantity of caloric which it has abſorbed or given out in the change of ſtate be aſcertained, we diſcover, by a ſimple calculation, the quantity of caloric it contains, and conſequently the point in the thermometrical ſcale at which it would be deprived of caloric,—'the quantity being equal to the capacity of the ſolid multiplied by the latent heat, and divided by the difference of the capacities.' It may likewiſe be determined 'by the compariſon of the capacities of any two bodies which unite chemically before and after mixture, combined with the obſervation of the heat given out at the ſame time.' From experiments in both modes, Dr Irvine fixed the zero at 900 below 0 of Fahrenheit. We cannot enter on the ſubject more fully, but may merely remark, that although the principle on which the ſolution of the problem is attempted is probably juſt, there are ſo many ſources of error in the eſtimation of the capacities, and even in determining the quantities of heat evolved or abſorbed, that we cannot place much confidence in the reſults, and accordingly theſe have differed widely as obtained by different experimenters. This has been aſcribed to a radical fault in the method itſelf, while, on the other hand, it has been contended, that it may ariſe from the errors to which the methods of fixing the grounds of the calculation are liable; a poſition which Dr Irvine junior has, we think, ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing.

We have entered ſo fully into the conſideration of the firſt, and undoubtedly the moſt intereſting part of this volume, that we can ſcarcely offer any obſervations on the remaining parts. The ſecond is compoſed of eſſays written by Dr Irvine, and ſeveral of them read before the Literary Society of Glaſgow. As the production of a man of talents and celebrity they muſt excite intereſt; but, independent of this, we have found in them ſome original views, and a number of curious and important facts, which we acknowledge, from conſidering the ſtate of chemiſtry at the

time they were written, we did not expect. The firſt unfolds the principle on which the evolution of heat from chemical combination depends, and which Dr Crawford afterwards ſo ſucceſsfully applied to the explanation of the origin of animal temperature, and of the heat produced in combuſtion. Among the others, we would particularly diſtinguiſh the eſſays on the ſeeds and roots of plants and on ſoils, and thoſe on fermentation. In the former we have views of the circumſtances connected with the growth, nutrition, and propagation of vegetables, of the nature of ſoils, the cauſes of their fertility, the changes they ſuffer by cultivation, and their adaptation to particular plants, which, even now, with the aid of modern chemiſtry, could not perhaps be much improved, and which the naturaliſt and the ſcientific agriculturiſt will peruſe with pleaſure. In the latter there are ſome practical details on the proceſs of fermentation, and the ſubſtances ſuſceptible of it, and ſome facts and principles ſtated which we have been taught to believe were of more recent diſcovery. In an eſſay on the quantity of matter in bodies, we have a very good ſketch of the chemical views which immediately preceded the theory of Lavoiſier, and ſome ſtriking experiments on the increaſe of weight in metallic ſolutions.

The laſt part of the work conſiſts of two eſſays by Dr Irvine junior; one on latent heat, in which are related a ſeries of experiments on the quantities of caloric which become latent in the fuſion of ſulphur, and of ſeveral of the metals, and which have added ſome facts to thoſe before known; and another on the affections of ſulphur with caloric, directed principally to the inveſtigation of the ſingular property which that ſubſtance exhibits of thickening after its fuſion, by an elevation of temperature within a certain extent.

ART. XI. *Nathan the Wiſe: a Dramatic Poem. Written originally in German.* By G. E. Leſſing. 8vo. pp. 293. London. 1805.

WE met with this volume by accident, a ſhort time ago, and have been ſo much edified by its peruſal, that we haſten to give our readers an account of it.

It is a genuine German drama, written without any imitation of French or Engliſh, and admirably calculated to elucidate the native and peculiar taſte of that ingenious people. They have borrowed ſo much of late from both theſe quarters, that it may reaſonably be doubted, whether a reliſh for their own original and

and appropriate literature be altogether ſo common in this country as is uſually imagined. This book, we think, will afford a very uſeful teſt for determining that important problem, and will enable the reader immediately to aſcertain whether he has hitherto admired the true German genius itſelf, or only its imitation of French and Engliſh. A traveller may very erroneouſly ſuppoſe that he reliſhes German cookery, when he gormandizes on fricandeau or plum-pudding at Vienna; but if he take delight in *ſour krout* and *wild-boar veniſon*, he may reſt aſſured that he is under no miſtake as to the proficiency he has made, and that he has completely reconciled himſelf to the national taſte of his entertainers. The work before us is as genuine ſour krout as ever perfumed a feaſt in Weſtphalia.

The ſtory, in point of abſurdity, we think, is fairly entitled to bear away the palm from the celebrated German play in the poetry of the Antijacobin: the moral is no leſs comfortable; and the diction, though not altogether ſo lofty, is, upon the whole, entitled to equal admiration.

The ſcene is laid in Jeruſalem in the time of the cruſades; and the ſtory turns chiefly upon the adventures of a young Templar, who had been made captive by the armies of the celebrated Saladin. This monarch, who is repreſented as a pattern of mildneſs and generoſity, chuſes to amuſe himſelf one morning by ſeeing the heads of twenty priſoners ſtruck off by his chief executioner, and witneſſes the operation upon nineteen of them with ſingular complacency and ſatisfaction. Being ſtruck, however, with a ſort of reſemblance which the twentieth ſeemed to bear to a favourite brother, who had diſappeared many years before, he directs his life to be ſpared, and allows him to roam at large, in a ſtarving condition, through all the ſtreets of Jeruſalem. In one of his evening rambles, this youth perceives the houſe of Nathan the Jew to be on fire; and gallantly going to the aſſiſtance of the city firemen, is the means of delivering the Jew's daughter from the flames. The young Iſraelite very naturally falls in love with her preſerver; but he, having a bad opinion of the whole nation, keeps out of the way of her gratitude, till Nathan finds him out, and wins the affection of this Chriſtian champion in a moment, by aſſuring him that he is not a Jew, but only a ſort of Deiſt, who has acquired a habit of going to the ſynagogue without meaning any thing. The Templar proteſts that he is himſelf of the very ſame faith; and, after vowing eternal friendſhip, he goes home with him and falls furiouſly in love with the daughter.

In the mean time, Saladin ſends for the Jew to lend him money, and to aſk him which of the three religions is the beſt,—

the Chriſtian, Jewiſh, or Mahometan. The learned Rabbi anſwers, that they are all very good in their way; but that it is impoſſible to ſay, till the day of judgment, which is the beſt: and then gratifying his royal pupil with heaps of gold, he leaves him enchanted with his wiſdom and munificence. The Templar, without conſidering his vow of celibacy, now becomes very urgent to marry the daughter of Nathan; and ſome accidental obſtacles being thrown in the way, it turns out, 1ſt, that this fair creature is not the Jew's daughter, but the daughter of a Chriſtian Knight, who had conſided her to his charge; 2d, that the gallant Templar is the ſon of the Saracen prince who had diſappeared from Saladin's court, and, wandering into Europe, had been ſeized with the caprice of becoming a Knight Templar, and fighting againſt his own beloved brother, under which character he had choſen, however inconſiſtently, to marry a German lady, and beget this young hero; and, 3d, that the ſame illuſtrious convert was alſo the father of the Jew's reputed daughter, and conſequently, that theſe young lovers ſtand to each other in the relation of brother and ſiſter. The moſt edifying part of the ſtory is, that this diſcovery produces no ſort of uneaſineſs or diſturbance to the parties concerned; on the contrary, the young people ſeem quite delighted with the occurrence; and the author leaves them embracing their uncle the Sultan, in a paroxyſm of filial and paternal affection.

Such is the fable of Nathan the Wiſe. Its moral, we are informed, is to inculcate the duty of mutual indulgence in religious opinions: and truly, it muſt be confeſſed that it does this in a very radical and effectual way, by urging, in a very confident manner, the extreme inſignificance of all peculiar ſyſtems of faith, or rather, the ſtrong preſumption againſt any of them being at all worth attending to, or in any reſpect better than another. The author's whole ſecret, for reconciling Jews, Mahometans, and Chriſtians to each other, is, to perſuade them all to renounce their peculiar tenets, and to reſt ſatisfied with a kind of philoſophical deiſm, in which they may all agree. The play, we are told, had a great effect in Germany, in quelling the diſſenſions of contending ſectaries; and it is now made public in England with the ſame benevolent purpoſe. We would do much to forward the end, but we can by no means reconcile ourſelves to the means which are here recommended. We ſhall quote a line or two, to ſhew that we do not at all miſrepreſent the doctrines of the author, when we ſay, that his antidote for religious intolerance is abſolute indifference, or infidelity. When the Templar is reproaching the Jew with the prejudices and ſuperſtitions of his nation, he anſwers,

'*Nath.* ——————Deſpiſe my nation—
We did not chuſe a nation for ourſelves.
Are we our nations? What's a nation then?
Were Jews and Chriſtians ſuch, ere they were men?
And have I found in thee one more, to whom
it is enough to be a man?
'*Temp.* That haſt thou.
Nathan, by God, thou haſt. Thy hand; I bluſh
to have miſtaken thee a ſingle inſtant.' p. 104.

This pious Knight makes a ſtill clearer profeſſion of his faith in a dialogue with a Chriſtian woman, in which the poor damſel having happened to ſay,

'*Daya.* ——————nor were this time
the firſt, when thro' an unexpected path
the Saviour drew his children on to him
acroſs the tangled maze of human life.'

he anſwers,

'*Temp.* So ſolemn that! and yet if in the ſtead
of Saviour, I were to ſay Providence,
it would ſound true ——' p. 170.

The creed of the Sultan appears, from a variety of paſſages, to be equally liberal and accommodating.

The diction and compoſition of this piece is not, as we have already obſerved, altogether ſo magnificent or ambitious as that of the modern German theatre. It aims rather at great ſimplicity and aptneſs. The dialogue is the moſt familiar and natural imaginable, and the metaphors and figures which are introduced the moſt humble and homely. There is a vein of innocent jocularity which runs through the whole drama; and the ſultan and his miniſters gibe and play upon each other, in the very ſame ſtyle of infantine raillery and impatience, which prevails between the young Jeweſs and her governante. The perſonages are all very quick and ſnappiſh withal, without ever ſubjecting themſelves to the agitation of the greater paſſions; and the author has contrived moſt ingeniouſly to produce a drama, which has all the levity of comedy, without its wit or vivacity, and all the extravagance of tragedy, without its paſſion or its poetry.

The tranſlator, we think, has done great juſtice to his original; except that his partiality for the German idiom has induced him to ſtick to it occaſionally, to the manifeſt prejudice of his Engliſh: his notions of metrical harmony are probably borrowed from the ſame ſource. But our readers will judge better of the work by a ſpecimen. The following is the Templar's firſt ſoliloquy, after he has fallen in love with the Jeweſs.

'*Temp.* ——————'Tis ſure I fled in vain;
but more than fly I could not do, whatever

comes of it. Ah! to ward it off—the blow
was given too ſuddenly. Long, much, I ſtrove
to keep aloof; but vainly. Once to ſee her—
her, whom I ſurely did not court the ſight of,
to ſee her, and to form the reſolution,
never to loſe ſight of her here again,
was one—The reſolution?—No, 'tis will,
fixt purpoſe, made, (for I was paſſive in it)
ſeal'd, doom'd. To ſee her, and to feel myſelf
bound to her, wove into her very being,
was one—remains one. Separate from her,
to live is quite unthinkable—is death.
And whereſoever after death we be,
there too the thought were death. And is this love?
Yet ſo in troth the templar loves—ſo—ſo—
the Chriſtian loves the Jeweſs. What of that?
Here in this holy land, and therefore holy
and dear to me, I have already doff'd
ſome prejudices.—Well—what ſays my vow?
As templar I am dead, was dead to that
from the ſame hour which made me priſoner
to Saladin. But is the head he gave me
my old one? No. It knows no word of what
was prated into yon, of what had bound it.
It is a better; for its patrial ſky
fitter than yon. I feel—I'm conſcious of it.
With this I now begin to think, as here
my father muſt have thought; if tales of him
have not been told untruly. Tales—why tales?
They are credible—more credible than ever—
now that I'm on the brink of ſtumbling, where
he fell. He fell? I'd rather fall with men,
than ſtand with children. His example pledges
his approbation; and whoſe approbation
have I elſe need of? Nathan's? Surely, of his
encouragement, applauſe, I've little need
to doubt—O what a Jew is he! yet eaſy
to paſs for the mere Jew.' p. 159, 160.

The following is part of the firſt dialogue that paſſes between the lovers.

'*Recha.* Where have you been? where you perhaps
ought not—
That is not well.
Temp. Up—how d'ye call the mountain?
up Sinai.
Recha. Oh that's very fortunate.
Now I ſhall learn for certain, if 'tis true—

Temp.

Temp. What! If the ſpot may yet be ſeen where Moſes
ſtood before God; when firſt—
Recha. No, no; not that.
Where'er he ſtood, 'twas before God. Of this
I know enough already. Is it true,
I wiſh to learn from you, that—that it is not
by far ſo troubleſome to climb this mountain
as to get down—for on all mountains elſe,
that I have ſeen, quite the reverſe obtains.' p. 128-29.

After ſome farther talk, equally innocent and edifying, the amorous Templar exclaims—

'*Temp.* How truly ſaid thy father, "Do but know her!"
Recha. Who has—of whom—ſaid ſo to thee?
Temp. Thy father
ſaid to me, "Do but know her," and of thee.' p. 130.

The following ſoliloquy of the Wiſe Nathan, when the ſultan leaves him to ponder on his query about the three religions, is in a loftier ſtyle, and is in the beſt and moſt ſententious manner of the author.

'*Nath.* I came prepar'd with caſh—he aſks truth. Truth?
as if truth too were caſh—a coin diſus'd
that goes by weight—indeed 'tis ſome ſuch thing—
but a new coin, known by the ſtamp at once,
to be flung down and told upon the counter,
it is not that. Like gold in bags tied up,
ſo truth lies hoarded in the wiſe man's head
to be brought out—Which now in this tranſaction,
which of us plays the Jew? he aſks for truth,
is truth what he requires, his aim, his end?
That this is but the glue to lime a ſnare
ought not to be ſuſpected, 'twere too little,
yet what is found too little for the great—
In fact, thro' hedge and pale to ſtalk at once
into one's field beſeems not—friends look round,
ſeek for the path, aſk leave to paſs the gate—
I muſt be cautious. Yet to damp him back
and be the ſtubborn Jew is not the thing;
and wholly to throw off the Jew, ſtill leſs.
For if no Jew he might with right inquire—
why not a Muſulman?——' p. 145-46.

We ſuſpect our readers have enough now; yet there are many choice phraſes and images to be culled. Nathan, reproving pride, ſays,

'The iron pot would with a ſilver prong
be lifted from the fire.'

The fair Recha comparing the truth of Chriſtianity to weeds ſown in her mind, ſays,

——'Yet

——'Yet I muſt acknowledge
I feel as if they had *a four ſweet odour,*
that makes me giddy—that half ſuffocates me.'

And her handmaid, obſerving the agitation of her lover, obſerves with much elegance,

—— 'Something paſſes in him.
It boils—but it muſt not boil over. Leave him—

The ſame perſonage conceiving Nathan to be ſomewhat ſevere in his ſarcaſms, replies to him with great ſpirit, by firſt ſaying, '*Hit off,*' and then exclaiming, '*you are on the bite.*' We ſuſpect, however, that we are indebted to the taſte of the tranſlator for the dignity of theſe two repartees. There is one other phraſe to which he ſeems particularly partial, and which has a very ſingular effect on his compoſition. He can by no chance be prevailed upon to uſe the verb '*to find,*' without coupling it with the particle '*up;*' thus, he ſays, 'We'll find thee up a ſtaff;'—'go find me up the Jew;'—'Will no one find me the Dervis up;'—'I wiſh to find him up that may convert her,' &c. &c. The phraſe occurs at leaſt twenty times; and whether it be borrowed from the idiom of the original, or invented by the tranſlator, muſt certainly be allowed to poſſeſs ſingular grace and animation.

We have now exhibited enough, we conceive, of this drama, to ſatisfy the greater part of our readers, that, in ſpite of ſome late alarming ſymptoms, there is good reaſon for holding, that there is ſtill a conſiderable difference between the national taſte of Germany and of this country. The piece before us, has not only been a favourite acting play for theſe laſt ſix and twenty years, but it is conſidered as one of the beſt productions of their celebrated Leſſing, who is vaunted as the pureſt and moſt elegant of their dramatic writers, and has long been the idol of thoſe who cry down Schiller and Kotzebue as caricaturiſts. The tranſlation is from the pen of Mr Taylor of Norwich, whoſe admirable verſions of Lenore, and of the Iphigenia in Tauris, have placed him at the head of all our tranſlators from that language.

ART. XII. *Engliſh Lyrics. Third Edition.* By William Smyth, Fellow of St Peter's College, Cambridge. 12mo. pp. 150. London, 1806.

THIS is a very elegant and pleaſing little volume: the work evidently of a man of refined taſte and amiable diſpoſitions. The character of the poetry is delicacy rather than force, tenderneſs

derneſs rather than enthuſiaſm, and a ſort of contemplative morality, ſomewhat 'ſicklied o'er with the pale caſt of thought,' inſtead of the ſtrong emotions and lofty conceptions of the bolder lyric. The author holds dalliance with the Muſe, but is not poſſeſſed by her; he rather guides his genius, than is impelled by it; and ſtands too much in dread of faults, to attain many of the greater beauties. There is nothing of narrative, and very little of character or manners in his volume. It is made up of diſſections of the finer feelings, reflections on innocent unhappineſs, and allegorical ſketches of the paſſions by which life is governed. The compoſition is ſometimes enlivened by the beautiful workings of fancy, and ſometimes debaſed by the affectation of unneceſſary refinement. In ſhort, if the reader can form to himſelf the idea of a middle ſtyle, between the capricious prettineſs of Shenſtone, and the bold and abſtract perſonifications of Collins, he will have attained a very juſt conception, we think, of the ſtyle of Mr Smyth's Engliſh Lyrics.

It was a bold attempt to inſcribe an 'Ode to Pity,' after the author we have juſt mentioned; yet the following ſtanzas are elegant.

'O Pity! all my ſighs are thine,
My follies pauſe, my boſom warms,
My muſing griefs to bliſs refine,
Whene'er I mark thy ſorrowing forms;
The love-lorn maid that long believed.
Now ſinking lone, now undeceived,
—Or him, 'mid fortune's gathering gloom,
Condemned the ſmile of bliſs to wear,
While baffled hope, and rankling care,
His generous heart conſume.

'The exile grey, when ſtart to view
The tears, that ſpeak the exiled ſoul;
The mother, as ſhe bids adieu,
And turns, her anguiſh to control;
The hectic form, the beauteous maid,
That juſt as life its charm diſplay'd,
To death devoted, glides away,
With brilliant eye, that watery gleams,
While ſtill the roſy ſpectre dreams
Of many a morrow gay.' p. 67, 68.

The following lines expreſs a common thought; but expreſs it, we think, with great tenderneſs and beauty.

'Ah Julia! muſt that morrow come,
When I in anguiſh ſhall behold
That cheek with animated bloom
No longer warm—pale, ſhrunk—and cold—

Thoſe

Thoſe lips, whence I ſuch kiſſes ſteal,
Robb'd of their dye and honied ſtore,
No more to make one proud appeal,
Or ſpeak one tempting challenge more?

'Ah! muſt that hour at length arrive,
When I may preſs that hand ſo fair,
Now to my ſlighteſt touch alive,
Yet feel no pulſes trembling there?
Nor more thoſe eyes of ſoften'd blue
With liquid fondneſs ſparkling beam,
But ſeem their long, their laſt adieu,
In every faded look to gleam.

'In ſome dread ſeaſon of deſpair,
Muſt keen diſeaſe, muſt waſting pain,
Seize e'en thy form? and I be near,
To count the ſighs that moan in vain;
Wipe thy damp brow, with trembling hand,
See o'er thy frame Death's tremors creep,
Pale o'er thy ſinking ruin ſtand,
And feel the grief that cannot weep.' p. 26, 27.

The next is in a more cheerful and familiar tone.

'True, Laura, true! I own with pain,
That goodneſs oft muſt toil in vain,
Thy beauteous charge, the orphan maid,
But ill thy generous care repaid;
How could the hapleſs truant flee
From peace, and innocence, and thee?
Oft as we ſtray, this cottage nigh,
I feel how juſt thy paſſing ſigh.

'Thou canſt not from this ſcene below,
Chaſe every vice and every woe;
Thou canſt not wave a fairy wand,
Nor nature change, nor fate command;
Oh! faſter will the weed appear,
Than art of thine the flower can rear,
Yet flowers by thee may learn to blow,
And weeds leſs rank, leſs widely grow.

'Look round, my love, this hamlet ſee,
Its virtues all are reared by thee;
From thee its follies would retreat,
Its vices fear thy glance to meet;
To thee the young for learning bend,
The poor have marked thee for their friend;
And every grief to thee appeals,
Which pity ſoothes or bounty heals.

See,

' See, as we paſs, each peaſant's eye
Gives thee a praiſe no gold can buy;
You roſy child at diſtance view,
Preparing all in order due,
With courtſey grave to ſtop thy way,
And it ſhall look ſo proudly gay,
Soon as thy ſoft ſalute it hears,
Soon as thy ſmile its homage cheers.' p. 76—78.

The following is quite lively; and is the only gayety, we believe, in the volume.

" The Soldiers are coming," the villagers cry,
All trades are ſuſpended to ſee us paſs by;
Quick flies the glad ſound to the maiden up ſtairs,
In a moment diſmiſs'd are her broom and her cares;
Outſtretched is her neck, till the Soldiers ſhe ſees,
From her cap the red ribbon plays light in the breeze,
But lighter her heart plays, as nearer we come,
And redder her cheek at the ſound of the Drum.

' The veteran half dozing awakes at the news,
Hobbles out, and our column with triumph reviews;
Near his knee, his young grandſon, with ecſtacy hears
Of majors, and generals, and fierce brigadiers;
Of the marches he took, and the hardſhips he knew,
Of the battles he fought, and the foes that he ſlew;
To his heart ſpirits new in wild revelry come,
And make one rally more at the ſound of the Drum.' p. 102—3.

There are ſome things finical, however, and ſome unmeaning, in theſe poems. In ſome verſes on the Liverpool Aſylum, the ſimple circumſtance of the blind being led about by children, or obliged to grope their way with ſticks, loſes all its pathos by an attempt to expreſs it with dignity.

' Helpleſs, as they ſlowly ſtray,
Childhood points their cheerleſs way;
Or *the wand exploring* guides
Falt'ring ſteps, *where fear preſides.*' p. 29.

In the delineation of ſuch objects, we are perfectly ſatisfied, that the ſchool of Southey and Coleridge is right, and that the whole effect of the repreſentation muſt depend on the humble ſimplicity of the ſtatement.

The following ſtanza ſeems rather to have been formed on the model of the love ſong by a perſon of quality.

' Soft Cherub of the ſouthern breeze,
O if aright I tune the reed
Which thus thine ear would hope to pleaſe,
By ſimple lay, and humble meed.' p. 2.

The

The concluding verſes of this poem, however, are pretty; and with them we ſhall finiſh our extracts.

'I court thee, thro' the glimmering air,
When morning ſprings from ſlumbers ſtill,
And waving bright his golden hair,
Stands tiptoe on yon caſtern hill.

I court thee, when at noon reclined,
I watch the murmuring inſect throng
In many an airy ſpiral wind,
Or ſilent climb the leaf along.

I court thee when the flow'rets cloſe,
And drink no more receding light,
And when calm eve to ſoft repoſe,
Sinks on the boſom of the night.

And when beneath the moon's pale beam,
Alone mid ſhadowy rocks I roam,
And waking viſions round me gleam,
Of beings and of worlds to come.

Smooth glides with thee my penſive hour,
Thou warm'ſt to life my languid mind;
Thou cheer'ſt a frame with genial power,
That droops in every ruder wind.

Breathe, Cherub! breathe! once ſoft and warm,
Like thine the gale of Fortune blew,
How has the deſolating ſtorm
Swept all I gazed on from my view!

Unſeen, unknown, I wait my doom,
The haunts of men indignant flee,
Hold to my heart a liſtleſs gloom,
And joy but in the muſe and thee.' p. 3, 4.

Upon the whole, we think theſe Engliſh Lyrics very amiable and innocent. The author does not perhaps poſſeſs any extraordinary vigour or originality of genius; nor are his images delineated with that pencil 'whoſe colours are the light of ſetting ſuns;' but they have great harmony and grace of diſpoſition, and are finiſhed with all the ſoftneſs and tenderneſs of a moonlight landſcape. The author repeatedly expreſſes an ambition to be popular among the ladies; and we think he is well qualified to ſucceed; at any rate, we can conſcientiouſly recommend his book to all our fair readers, as fully better ſuited for their peruſal than the Lyrics of Mr Moore.

ART.

ART. XIII. *The Life of Thomas Dermody: interſperſed with Pieces of Original Poetry, many exhibiting unexampled prematurity of genuine poetical Talent; and containing a ſeries of Correſpondence with ſeveral eminent Characters.* By James Grant Raymond. Two Volumes 12mo. pp. 600. London, 1806.

THERE is a celebrated ſort of ſnuff, the name of which, we think, conveys a pretty exact idea of the hero of this extraordinary biography: but it is more polite to his patrons and admirers to ſay, that theſe volumes contain the hiſtory of another Savage—born in a lower rank of life, and earlier ſet looſe from the reſtraints of diſcipline and morality.

It is lamentable to think how little the treatment of perſons who labour under the complicated diſeaſes of poverty, poetry, and want of principle, is yet underſtood in this country. The common method has hitherto been, to encourage the immorality by indulgence, to repreſs the poetry by extravagant and pernicious applauſes, and to exaſperate the ſymptoms of poverty by thoughtleſs and unmeaſured profuſion, ſucceeded by deſertion and neglect. The caſe of the unhappy patient before us, appears indeed to have been very deſperate; and it is but juſtice to his patrons to ſay, that many of them appear to have followed a very rational ſyſtem of cure: it failed however entirely, partly through the original bad conſtitution of the ſubject, and partly through the miſmanagement of certain of his romantic admirers. We look upon the publication of theſe two thick volumes (with the threat of as many more), and the ſtyle of bombaſtic encomium in which they are written, as a conſiderable impertinence in relation to taſte, ſenſe, and morality: but the ſtory they contain is curious, and not altogether uninſtructive. The ſymptoms are common enough in forward and ill educated youth; but they are ſo unuſually violent in this particular caſe, as to render it an object of intereſt.

Thomas Dermody was the ſon of a tippling ſchoolmaſter in the weſt of Ireland; and copied all his father's accompliſhments with ſo premature an alacrity, that, before he was ten years of age, if we are to believe this minute chronicler, he was an excellent claſſical ſcholar—and a confirmed drunkard. At this early age, he is ſaid to have compoſed a monody on the death of a brother, which is inſerted in this work, and certainly indicates an aſtoniſhing prematurity in the arts of compoſition and verſification, although, in ſubſtance, it is little more than a cento from the Lycidas and other minor poems of Milton. As we think this nearly as good as any of the productions of his maturer age, we ſhall inſert a few lines as a ſpecimen of his infantine powers.

'Ah!

'Ah! no: of ſimple ſtructure was his lay;
Yet unprofan'd with trick of city art,
Pure from the head, and glowing from the heart.—
Thou dear memorial of a brother's love,
Sweet flute, once warbled to the liſt'ning grove,
And maſter'd by his ſkilful hand,
How ſhall I now command
The hidden charms that lurk within thy frame,
Or tell his gentle fame?
Yet will I hail, unmeet, his ſtar-crown'd ſhade;
And beck his rural friends, a tuneful throng,
To mend the uncouth lay, and join the riſing ſong.
Ah! I remember well yon oaken arbour gay,
Where frequent at the purple dawn of morn,
Or 'neath the beetling brow of twilight grey,
We ſate, like roſes twain upon one thorn,
Telling romantic tales, of deſcant quaint,
Tinted in various hues with fancy's paint:
And I would hearken, greedy of his ſound,
Lapt in the boſom of ſoft ecſtacy,
Till, lifting mildly high
Her modeſt frontlet from the clouds around,
Silence beheld us bruiſe the cloſing flow'rs,
Meanwhile ſhe ſhed her pure ambroſial ſhow'rs.' p. 6—7.

Before he had completed his eleventh year, this youthful minſtrel determined to break from the bondage of his father's houſe, to ſeek for adventures and fame in the metropolis; and ſet out accordingly, with one ſhirt and two ſhillings in his pocket. As an example of the abſurd ſtyle in which his biographer has choſen to deliver his narrative, and an apology for quoting no more from him as we proceed, we give the following minute account of his outſet.

'He had painted to himſelf the pleaſures of the capital in all the voluptuous tints of a warm and juvenile imagination: and was fully perſuaded that it was the emporium of felicity; where the union of virtue, ſatisfaction, and uſeful amuſement, was to be found. With his ſenſes wrapt in this delightful reverie, he ſtrayed many miles before he perceived that he had loſt his way. However, looking on this as a favourable interpoſition of fortune, after a ſhort pauſe, he broke off boldly towards the road; and caſting a laſt look on his native village, which now ſeemed ſinking behind the neighbouring trees, he ſhed a tear of affectionate regret, which was ſoon dried by a ſmile of fervid expectation. While pleaſingly contemplating the ſcenes which his fancy ſuggeſted, he ſoon beguiled a great extent of ground, for deſire gave additional vigour to his exertions. At laſt he recollected that it would be proper for him to look about for a lodging: but no token of any ſuch retreat could he diſcover, except the languid glimmer of a lone cottage

cottage ſtanding in a dark avenue; and to this he turned with the utmoſt ſpeed.' Vol. I. p. 11. 12.

He meets with a funeral, a merry pariſh clerk, and a carrier, on this expedition; and, by the good offices of the latter, is ſafely depoſited in the heart of the city of Dublin. There he is picked up by two ſtall bookſellers, the one of whom wants to make him a ſort of tutor to his ſon, and the other attempts to employ him as a ſhop-boy; but his irritability, and love of drinking, render him unfit for either ſituation; and he fortunately attracts the notice of Dr Houlton, who takes him into his houſe, furniſhes him with books, and exhibits him to his friends as a prodigy of learning and ingenuity. He takes it violently amiſs, however, that the good Doctor objects to his reading in bed, and mutters ſomething heroic as to the horrors of dependence. The Doctor being forced to go to a different part of the kingdom, gives him much good advice, and a handſome ſum of money, and leaves him again to his own diſcretion.

This money, though ſtill under twelve years of age, he immediately ſpends in low debauchery, and then takes ſhelter with a painter whom he had ſeen at Dr Houlton's houſe, and condeſcends to act as his errand-boy, and to waſh the bruſhes and heat the ſize-pots of his maſter, when he was employed in painting ſome ſcenes at the playhouſe. In this ſituation, he produced a poem on the performers, which excited great attention in the green-room, and procured him, in particular, the patronage of Mr Owenſon, who charitably took him home to his own houſe, and exerted all his influence to procure him ſome permanent eſtabliſhment. Dr Young, Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy in the College, undertook to ſuperintend his ſtudies; but he ſoon deſerted his inſtructor, and went about idling, while he induced his benevolent patron to believe that he was diligent in his attendance. The detection of this duplicity occaſioned a degree of diſguſt; and Mr Owenſon was glad to transfer his wayward pupil to the Rev. G. Auſtin, who now kindly undertook to board and inſtruct him. By this gentleman's intereſt, a ſubſcription was ſet on foot for publiſhing a collection of his poems, before he was fourteen years of age: a conſiderable ſum was collected, and the infant poet was introduced, like the Young Roſcius of his day, into all the literary and faſhionable circles of the metropolis. His inherent profligacy, however, was, if poſſible, ſtill more wonderful than his early acquirements; and his partial biographer relates with regret, that neither the example of his benefactors, nor the dread of their diſpleaſure, could, even at this early age, overcome his decided attachment to low company, and the moſt groſs and brutal debauchery. To theſe ſtrange and diſguſting exceſſes, he

ſeems to have added the practice of habitual falſehood. He was detected in a very bareſaced impoſition of this nature, and degraded for it by his patron from the parlour to the kitchen, where he wrote ſome libellous and ungrateful verſes againſt him, which excited the reſentment of that gentleman ſo exceſſively, that he returned all the ſubſcriptions he had collected for him—burned his poems, and turned him out of his doors. He then made various applications for money, to thoſe who had honoured him with their ſubſcriptions, and, by the good offices of his friend Mr Owenſon, was taken into the protection of the Dowager Counteſs of Moira.

This lady, who ſeems to have been the moſt intelligent of all his patrons, removed him immediately from the metropolis, and placed him in the family of the Reverend Mr Boyd at Killeagh, where, for a period of two years, ſhe ſupported him in the moſt liberal manner, and endeavoured to reclaim him by the moſt earneſt and appropriate advice. His partial biographer, however, is forced to admit, that even in this retreat, he ſpeedily gave way to his inherent propenſities to intemperance and low company, and ſpent the greater part of his time carouſing in the alehouſe with the pariſh clerk, the village tailor, and all the diſſipated ruſtics in the neighbourhood. The reſtraint under which he was held by the ſuperintendance of his reverend tutor, appears to have diſguſted him with the tranquil and ſecure life which he now lived; and, with the native reſtleſsneſs of a vagrant and diſorderly perſon, he began to hanker after the tumult and adventure of that precarious and mendicant exiſtence from which he had juſt been reſcued. He proceeded, accordingly, not only to ſcandalize his benefactreſs by new exceſſes of irregularity, but to fatigue and inſult her by clamorous lamentations over the bondage in which he was held, and demands for the independence to which he had been taught to look forward. We have great pleaſure in inſerting the anſwer which this excellent and benevolent perſon returned to theſe turbulent effuſions. Inſtead of the paſſion and pettiſhneſs of diſappointed ſelfiſhneſs or romance, it indicates the ſteady juſtice of an enlightened and benevolent mind.

" Lady Moira informs Thomas Dermody, that Mr Berwick (who is in the country) has tranſmitted to her a letter which Dermody had written to him, and that ſhe has alſo received that which Dermody has written to her; both letters intimating his deſire and deſign to withdraw himſelf from Lady Moira's direction, and conſequent protection. Lady Moira makes not the leaſt objection to that determination; and has encloſed to Mr Boyd ten guineas, that he may enter upon his future ſchemes, and follow his own purſuits, not totally in a deſtitute condition.

" Lady

" Lady Moira had hoped, that from his reſidence with the Rev. Mr Boyd, he would not only have acquired literary information, but alſo in the courſe of two years, from the influence of mature reaſon, have attained to the prudent reflection of how incumbent it was for him to practiſe an exact conduct, to efface the prejudices his former behaviour had impreſſed. What attainments he has made in literature, it is not in her power to decide: ſhe is perſuaded that it could only ariſe from his own negligence, if he has not profited from Mr Boyd's inſtructions. That he has not received any benefit from reflection, the ſtyle of impropriety which runs through his letters plainly evinces. Lady Moira warns him, that the waywardneſs of his nature, and the ill-founded degree of ſelf-conceit he indulges himſelf in reſpecting his genius, will prevent his ever having friends, or arriving at ſucceſs, through the courſe of his future life, unleſs he alters his conduct and his ſentiments.

" As Dermody has thought proper to withdraw himſelf from her direction and protection in a manner equally ungracious and abſurd, Lady Moira informs him that the donation which accompanies this note, is the laſt attention or favour that he is ever to expect from Lady Moira, or any of her family." Vol. I. p. 252–3.

Immediately upon receiving this note, the infatuated boy graſped the money with eagerneſs, indited a farewel ode to his friends at the alehouſe, and ruſhed again into the miſeries and profligacy of the metropolis. Here he was ſoon reduced to beggary; and begged: however, by the aſſiſtance of Mr Owenſon, he printed a volume of poems, and was patronized by Mr Grattan, Mr Flood, Mr Monk Maſon, and various other perſons of notoriety; but his incurable propenſities alienated all his protectors in ſucceſſion, and indeed made all pecuniary aſſiſtance unavailing. Although he had written a fooliſh revolutionary pamphlet, the late Lord Kilwarden, then attorney-general, was pleaſed to intereſt himſelf in his behalf; and although, on the firſt viſit, he was carried dead drunk from the table, carried his munificence ſo far as to engage apartments for him in the College, and make offer of defraying the whole of his expences, beſides allowing him 30l. a year for pocket-money. This moſt liberal and generous offer he had the unpardonable folly to refuſe, for no other reaſon that appears, but that he entertained an abhorrence of all regular application, ſobriety, or poliſhed ſociety. The Attorney-General, of courſe, withdrew his patronage from ſo perverſe a profligate, and he had recourſe again to beggary and occaſional poetry.

He had not yet wearied out Iriſh indulgence. Mr Smith and Mr Emerſon now undertook to provide for him: but becauſe they ventured ſometimes to remonſtrate with him on his irregularities, he ſuddenly withdrew himſelf from their notice, and ' abandoned himſelf,' as our author expreſſes it, ' to the moſt depraved ſociety, whoſe purſuits and enjoyments were both diſreputable and pernicious.' Deſerted at laſt even by

thoſe baſe aſſociates, he wandered about for many weeks without any habitation, or any means of ſubſiſtence, 'but the caſual donations which his wretched appearance extorted from the humanity of thoſe to whom he preſented mean petitions.' In this ſituation he meditated a viſit to London, and wrote ſome abuſive and ſcurrilous verſes upon that country which had ſo long tolerated and ſupported his vices by its liberal and long-ſuffering munificence. In his drunken fits he was twice enliſted by a crimping ſerjeant, and twice ſet at liberty by his friends; but, upon falling into this ſcrape for the third time, it was judged proper by Lord Moira and his other patrons, that he ſhould be allowed to remain, for ſome time at leaſt, in the ranks, to try whether military diſcipline might not effect that reformation which had proved impracticable by any other method.

For a conſiderable time there ſeemed to be good ground for hoping that this experiment would prove ſucceſsful;—he was promoted to be a ſerjeant for good behaviour, and at laſt, upon the failing of the Engliſh army for Flanders, was appointed by Lord Moira ſecond lieutenant to a waggon corps, and ſerved abroad, with no diſcredit or remarkable irregularity, for the long period of four years. On the reduction of this army he was put upon half-pay, which ſecured him a regular annuity of 32l.

The beneficence of the Earl of Moira now induced him to provide for his accommodation, and put him in the way of literary advancement; but he ſquandered the liberal ſupplies of his protector, and returning to the purſuits of low debauchery, was very ſoon reduced to priſon, from which he was only releaſed by the kindneſs of his patron. He was no ſooner at liberty, than all thoughts of reformation vaniſhed;—he mortgaged his half-pay, boarded himſelf with a drunken Iriſh cobler in Weſtminſter, and ſpent his days and nights in the moſt offenſive intemperance with him and his aſſociates. Lord Moira, though he never deſerted him entirely, was now forced to abandon the idea of bringing him forward to public notice.

In 1800 he publiſhed a collection of his poems; but he was now twenty-five years of age; and the public, that had clapped and ſhouted the infant poet, did not find any ſubject for rapturous admiration in the improved production of the man. He was ſoon naked and deſtitute again, and then applied to Sir James Bland Burges. Sir James gave him a draught on his banker for ten pounds; and as ſoon as he had got home, Dermody wrote a letter, ſtating that he had loſt the draught by the way, and requeſting to have another of equal value. On ſending to the banker, Sir James found that the firſt draught had been preſented and paid to the poet, who makes a moſt awkward apology for the impoſition, and is again received into favour. By the interceſſion

interceſſion of this new patron, he was now recommended to the conſideration of the Literary Fund; and received a ſupply of money and clothes, that ſeemed to put him, for a time at leaſt, beyond the reach of expoſure. Our readers, however, will perceive, from the following extract, how greatly his miſconduct exceeded all ordinary calculation.

'As he was now well dreſt, apparently relieved from his embarraſſments, and with favourable proſpects opening to him, his friends entertained a hope that he would have diſcretion enough to make a good uſe of his proſperity. But this expectation was very ſhort-lived. Within a week after he had appeared in his new clothes, as Sir James Burges was ſitting in the evening in his library, he heard a loud noiſe and a violent altercation in his hall. On going out to inquire the cauſe of ſuch an unuſual tumult, he found Dermody ſtruggling with two of his ſervants, who endeavoured to prevent him from forcing his way into the houſe. And, indeed, his appearance was ſuch as completely to juſtify them; for he was literally in rags, was covered with mud (in which it appeared that he had been juſt rolled), had a black eye, and a freſh wound on his head from which the blood trickled down his breaſt; and, to crown the whole, was ſo drunk as to be hardly able to ſtand or ſpeak. As ſoon as Sir James could recognize him, he releaſed him from the hands of his ſervants; and conducting him into his library, inquired the reaſon of his appearing in ſuch a condition. Dermody accounted for his being ſo ill dreſt, by ſaying that he had pawned his new clothes. As for his dirt and wounds, he ſaid he had been arreſted and carried to a ſpunging-houſe, where he had been drinking with the bailiffs, and writing a poem which he wiſhed to take to Sir James, but they would not let him; ſo that he had watched his opportunity, and ſlipped off; but had been overtaken by them, and obliged to fight his way.' II. 169–70.

The compaſſion of Sir James withſtood this exhibition; and he perſiſted in his attention to this devoted bacchanal, till his repeated miſconduct and ſhameleſs ſolicitations at laſt wearied out his benevolence, and ſhut his ears to his entreaties. The way in which he now lived, may be judged of from the following paſſages.

'At one time he might be ſeen in his garret in company with his hoſts the cobler and his wife, and ſome attic lodger of equal conſequence, regaling on a gooſe which his induſtry had roaſted by a ſtring in his own apartment; while the pallet-bed, which ſtood in a corner, was ſtrewed with various vegetables; the fire-ſide decorated with numerous foaming pots of porter; and the cobler's work-ſtool, boot-leg, lap-ſtone, &c. were commodiouſly placed as ſeats. On another occaſion, in ſome neighbouring alehouſe, entertaining the ſame perſonages with the various rarities which reſorts of this deſcription generally afford; where, as the aſtoniſhed gueſts, enveloped in clouds of ſmoke, ſat liſtening with rapture to the eloquence of Dermody, the hoſt was to be diſcovered in the back ground applauding with one hand, while his other dexterouſly ſcored an addititional item to the bill.' II. 223–4.

'At another time, his biographer having occaſion to call for him, on entering the houſe his ears were aſſailed by violent plaudits and huzzas, which appeared to iſſue from the attic ſtory. Having little curioſity to inquire into the cauſe of theſe extraordinary rejoicings, he only requeſted to ſee Dermody. The good woman of the houſe quickly diſpatched a meſſenger to give the proper information; and the author was ſoon uſhered into a room, at the top of which ſat Dermody in a new ſuit of clothes, ſurrounded by half a ſcore of the landlord's ſmoking acquaintances; the table ſtrewed with tobacco, pipes, and a plentiful flow of wine and ſpirits; and the ſideboard loaded with bottles, the late contents of which had left the members of this elevated ſociety in a ſtate of equal jollity and confuſion.' II. 225–6.

We add but one trait more.

'A few days previous to writing this letter, Dermody had dined in Piccadilly; when the author, perceiving his ſhoes and ſtockings to be in a very bad condition, ſent and purchaſed a pair of each, which Dermody put into his pocket with the intention of wearing them the following morning. The next evening, however, he made his appearance without either ſhoes, ſtockings, hat, neckcloth, or waiſtcoat; and in a ſtate of intoxication not to be endured. He had pledged the ſhoes and ſtockings, got drunk with the money, and in a fray in the ſtreets had loſt his other neceſſaries. He entered the houſe in this ſtate, told his tale, threw on the floor the duplicate of the articles he had pledged, demanded other apparel, was refuſed, ſwore a few oaths, threatened to deſtroy a ſideboard of glaſs, alarmed the whole family, was turned out of doors, and during the remainder of the night took ſhelter in a ſhed ſitted up for ſome cattle in one of the fields leading from Weſtminſter to Chelſea.' Vol. II. Note, p. 229–30.

His laſt patron was Lord Sidmouth, who enabled him to bring out another volume of poetry in 1802, and contributed liberally to his comfort and relief. But no admonitions could withhold Dermody many hours from the pot-houſe, and no money could keep him many days from the gaol. His conſtitution at laſt gave way under the preſſure of ſo many irregularities; he ran from his creditors and benefactors, to a miſerable cottage in the village of Sydenham, where he expired, in July 1802, at the age of 27.

Such is the hiſtory of Thomas Dermody; whoſe adventures are chronicled in theſe volumes with as much minuteneſs as if he had been a paragon of worth and accompliſhment, and whoſe genius is trumpeted forth as if it had outſhone that of all his poetical predeceſſors. We confeſs that we do not perceive the utility of ſuch a publication; and that we look with ſome degree of diſapprobation on the patronage and indulgence which was laviſhed upon ſuch a wretch as Dermody. Of his poetical productions, we know nothing more than is contained in theſe volumes; but they

they are ſufficient to ſatisfy us that his talents were of an inferior deſcription. He has conſiderable ſweetneſs of verſification, and a copious and eaſy flow of expreſſion; but we find little original in his conceptions: he is a great copyiſt; and, where he does not give way to a vein of puerile parody, or vulgar mock heroic, ſeems generally contented with amplifying, in looſe and declamatory language, the ideas which he borrows from our moſt popular authors. After all, it is by no means ſo difficult to write tolerable poetry, as the world appears to imagine; nor is the merit of this kind of labour ſo great, in our apprehenſion, as to atone for the want of common decency, or to monopolize the charity on which virtuous misfortune has ſo much ſtronger a claim. There are quantities of poetry as good as moſt of Dermody's, which paſs quietly to oblivion every ſix months, without ever being miſſed by the world; and when his name ceaſes to be heard of, which will happen, we doubt not, in four or five years, in ſpite of the ſtir occaſioned by his eccentricities, we rather think that the ſtate of our poetical readers will be more gracious than that of the preſent generation. In ſhort, we cannot help ſuſpecting that it is more to our national vanity, and our taſte for monſters of all deſcriptions, than to any tender ſympathies for the ſufferings of genius, that we ſhould aſcribe the profuſe and unmerited bounty which was poured into the purſe of this prodigy of verſe and debauchery. For our own parts, we think it would have been quite as well for the world, and much better for himſelf, if he had been allowed to follow out his natural progreſs, from the houſe of correction to the gallows; or, at any rate, if he had been left under the wholeſome diſcipline of the ſergeants and drummers in the ranks of Lord Granard's regiment of foot.

ART. XIV. *Paradis Perdu.* Traduit par Jacques De Lille, &c. Paris et Londre. 1805.

MR DE LILLE, the moſt famous of living poets, has, in the decline of life, undertaken a tranſlation of the moſt celebrated of Engliſh poems. The merits of Paradiſe Loſt, indeed, are not confined to England alone; they have been ſo univerſally felt and acknowledged throughout Europe, that many critics have gone the length of comparing the author with the moſt illuſtrious poets of antiquity; and few have ſcrupled to place him on the ſame pedeſtal with the great Italian poets of the middle age.

In attempting to lay before the public our remarks on this tranſlation, we are aware that we may appear to have undertaken a

taſk of great delicacy. Fortunately, however, ſome of thoſe circumſtances, which at firſt ſight ſeem to threaten us with the moſt formidable obſtacles, on a nearer approach produce a very contrary effect. The eſtabliſhed reputation of Milton conſiderably alleviates our labours. His excellences and his defects have been ſo frequently and ſo ably canvaſſed, and his merits as an epic poet have been ſo accurately aſcertained, that it would be ſuperfluous to attempt to add to the numerous criticiſms on this ſubject that are already in the poſſeſſion of the public. Mr De Lille's reputation, too, as a poet, is very generally underſtood. 'Multa virum meritis ſuſtentat fama tropæis.' The work, however, immediately under our conſideration, differs materially from any that he has hitherto ſent forth into the world, ſince it is in this that he has for the firſt time deſerted his ordinary ſtyle of poetry, and has attempted to ſoar, on a loftier and more adventurous wing, into regions he had never penetrated before. It remains, therefore, for us to examine, how far he was qualified for this attempt, and how he has ſucceeded in the execution of it.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary, we truſt, to ſay that we are actuated by no illiberal prejudice, when we ſtate the ſtyle and character of French poetry to be among the greateſt difficulties Mr De Lille had to encounter. Differing, as the French language does from our own, it is ſtill the fair and honourable rival of it. Each has its characteriſtic excellences, each its characteriſtic defects; and, whatever may be our opinion of their comparative merits, it would be abſurd to deny the excellence of that language, which, with the ſingle exception of England, is more or leſs the language of poliſhed ſociety throughout all the countries of Europe. This general diffuſion, indeed, may be partly owing to the extended power and political intereſt of the French nation; but it muſt in ſtill greater part be attributed to its own intrinſic merit, and to its delicacy and perſpicuity, which ſo peculiarly adapt it to the purpoſes of converſation and buſineſs. It is not with converſation or buſineſs, however, that we are now concerned; and we ſhall not be accuſed, we believe, of any national injuſtice to the poetical merits of the French, if we aſſert that it is not ſo well calculated for the loftier flights of poetry as the Spaniſh, the Italian, or the Engliſh. Much may be ſaid, certainly, for the language of a Corneille, a Racine, and a Voltaire; and all that we ſeriouſly pretend to maintain is, that the ſtyle and character of French poetry is not only very different from the ſtyle and character of Engliſh poetry, but that it is peculiar to the nation to which it belongs. Neither Italy nor England, we admit, have ever produced an author exactly of the ſame calibre as Racine; and France, on the other hand, never has, and probably never will, produce

duce poets at all reſembling Dante or Arioſto, Shakeſpeare or Milton.

The impediment, then, of his native language, was the firſt Mr De Lille had to ſtruggle with; the next ſeems to grow out of this, and to be as it were a part of it, viz. the neceſſity of rhyme. No difficulty more ſerious can preſent itſelf to the tranſlator of a work written in Engliſh blank verſe, than to be obliged to terminate each couplet by a chime of ſounds; and the ſtyle and character of Milton is, of all our poets except Shakeſpeare, the moſt abhorrent from this neceſſary appendage to French verſification. We remarked in a former Number, that the manner of Thomſon afforded certain facilities to a rhyming tranſlator, beyond any other of our writers in blank verſe. With Milton, however, the caſe is exactly the reverſe;—his characteriſtic excellences—his characteriſtic defects, are moſt repugnant to it. The ſublimity of his conceptions—the boldneſs of his metaphors—the ſtrength and propriety of his expreſſions—the harmonious ſtructure of his periods—and even his oſtentatious parade of learning, all render it peculiarly difficult to reconcile him to the ſhackles of rhyme.

It only remains, then, to conſider, whether there is any thing peculiar to Mr De Lille's ſtyle of verſification, which would enable him to riſe above the difficulties a French tranſlation of Paradiſe Loſt would naturally have to contend againſt. Mr De Lille has, it is true, a ſtyle of his own; and poſſibly may, hereafter, be regarded as the founder of a new ſchool in French poetry. Unfortunately, however, for his preſent purpoſe, the genius and character of his ſchool muſt be regarded as moſt oppoſite to that of the great author whom he has undertaken to copy. The genius of Mr De Lille would have harmonized better with Thomſon or Cowper, with Goldſmith or Pope; he is moſt in his element, when he is deſcribing flowers, or woods, or gardens—but he has rarely ventured into the higher walks of poetry: how then could he expect to ſoar on the ſublime pinions of our Milton, how

> To ſing of chaos and eternal night,
> Taught by the heavenly muſe, to venture down
> The dark deſcent, and up to reaſcend,
> Though hard and rare—?'

The moſt exact tranſlation we ever remember to have ſeen, is that of Taſſo's Aminta by Jaraguay. We will merely cite a few lines, to ſhew what may be expected from a compariſon of the whole work with the original.

> 'Conoſco la ritroſa Fanciullezza
> Qual tu ſei, tal io fui: così portava
> La vita, e 'l volto, e così biondo il crine,

E così vermigliuzza havea la bocca,
E così miſta col candor la Roſa.
Ne le guancie pienotte, e delicate
Era il mio ſommo guſto (hor me n'avveggio
Guſto di ſciocca) ſol tender le reti,
Et inveſcar le panie, et aguzzare
Il dardo aduna cote, e ſniar l'orne
E 'l covil de le Fere: e, ſe talhora
Vedea guattarmi da cupido Amante,
Chinava gli occhi, ruſtica, e ſelvaggia,
Piena di ſdegno, e di vergogna, em 'era
Mal grata la mia gratia e diſpiacente
Quanto di me piaceva altrui: pur come
Foſſe mia colpa, e mia onta, e mio ſcorno
L'eſſen guardata amata e deſiata.'

The tranſlation is as follows:

'Conozco y a la piventud eſquiva:
Aſi qual eres tu', tambien yo he ſido,
Aſi tambien goce de gentileza
De roſtro hermoſo, y de cabello rubio:
Aſi tuve qual tu los labios roxos
Y en mis llenas nexillas delicadas
Mezclada aſi con el jazmin la Roſa:
Acuerdome, que ſolo era mi guſto
(Que ſimple guſto) componer las redes
Armar con liga la una y otra mata,
Dar nuevos filos en la pinedra al dardo,
Y accechar de las fieras en el boſque
La cueva y huellas: y ſi vez alguna
Eca mi rada de laſcivo Amante
Volvia la viſta rúſtica y ſalvage
Al ſuelo con vergüenza deſdenoſa
Deſplaciendome entonces la hermoſura
Tanto como á los otros agradata
Qual ſi fuera mi culpa ó mi deſhonra
El ſer viſta guerida y deſeada.'

We are ready to allow that Jaraguay had none of the diſadvantages to combat that Mr De Lille experienced in his tranſlation of Paradiſe Loſt. The Spaniſh language, far from being oppoſite to the Italian, is, as it were, its twin ſiſter, and in ſome inſtances ſo nearly reſembles it, as to approach almoſt to an exact ſimilarity:—the ſtyle and metre of Taſſo were equally favourable to him.

To take, however, an inſtance from a very careleſs work, and one which, upon the whole, may be conſidered as ill executed, we mean Dryden's tranſlation of the Satires of Juvenal, we ſhall ſtill find paſſages here and there glittering like ſcattered gems, which

which ſhew how well the tranſlator had imbibed the ſpirit of his original, and how admirably calculated his language and his genius were for the taſk he had undertaken.

' Nos animorum
Impulſu, et cæcâ magnâque cupidine ducti,
Conjugium petimus—partumque uxoris—at illis
Notum quid pueri, qualiſque futura ſit uxor—
Ut tam et poſcas aliquid, voveaſque ſacellis
Exta, et candiduli divina tomacula porci:
Fortem poſce animum, et mortis terrore carentem:
Qui ſpatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ, qui ferre queat quoſcunque labores
Neſciat iraſci—cupiat nihil—et potiores
Herculis ærumnas credat, fævoſque labores
Et Venere, et cænis et plumis Sardanapali—'

' We blindly, by our headſtrong paſſions led,
Are hot for action, and deſire to wed—
Then wiſh for heirs,—but to the gods alone
Our future offspring and our wives are known—
Th' audacious ſtrumpet, and ungracious ſon.
Yet not to rob the prieſts of pious gain;
That altars be not wholly built in vain,
Forgive the gods the reſt—and ſtand confined
To health of body, and content of mind;
A ſoul that can ſecurely death defy,
And count it nature's privilege to die,
Serene and manly—hardened to ſuſtain
The load of life, and exerciſed in pain;
Guiltleſs of hate, and proof againſt deſire;
That all things weighs, and nothing can admire;
That dares prefer the toils of Hercules,
To dalliance, banquets, and inglorious eaſe.'

This paſſage would give an Engliſh reader, though totally unacquainted with Latin, an exact idea of the ſtrength and energy of Juvenal's ſtyle: but we have looked in vain throughout Mr De Lille's tranſlation of Paradiſe Loſt, for a ſingle paſſage which might ſerve to give a Frenchman an idea of Milton;—that this total failure muſt be owing, either to the language, or to the tranſlator, or partly to both, is clear from the different ſhape our great poet aſſumes when tranſlated into other languages. The Italian verſion of Padré Rolli, defective as it is in the whole, is in many parts very happily executed. What, for example, can be more accurate than the following paſſage?

' *O ſole, in whom my thoughts find all repoſe,*' &c.
down to ' *in vain.*' Book V. line 28.

' O ſolo in cui tutti 'i penſier miei trovano
La lor tranquillità, mia gloria, e mia

Perfezzion, lieta il tuo volto io miro
E il ritornato bel mattin: chè in notte,
(Notte tal, fino a queſta, ancor paſſata
Io non avea) ſognai—ſe pur ſognai
Non gia di te, cone ſovente io ſoglio
Non gia dell' opre del paſſato giorno
O delle diſſegnate al dì' ſeguenti
Ma d'oſſeſa e diſturbo: alla mia mente
Ignoti fino a tal torbida notte
Giuſto preſſo all arecchio, udir mi parve,
Uno che con gentil voce m' invita
A paſſeggiar: che foſſi tu, penſai.
Ei diſſe: Eva, perché dormi? or é il tempo
E piacevole e freſco, e taciturno,
Eccetto ſol dove il ſilenzio cede
Al dolce augello che di notte canta
E che ſvegliato or modela ſu i rami
La dulciſſime ſue note amorose.
Pieno nell orbe ſuo regna or la luna
E con lume più grato in moſtra eſpone
Ombreggiata la faccia delle coſe,
Ma en van, ſe non ſi mira,' &c.

From this, as well as from another extract which we may have occaſion to cite in the ſequel, an Italian might know how to feel and appreciate ſome of the characteriſtic excellences of Milton. But in the caſe before us, the original fabric has been ſo completely diſſolved, that no veſtige of its magnificence remains, unleſs Mr De Lille pretends, like the pedant in Hierocles, to produce a brick as a ſpecimen of the houſe. The ideas are throughout enfeebled and expanded; whole paſſages are omitted—others are entirely changed; and ſome of the beſt lines are thoſe which the tranſlator has interpolated, either to complete his couplets, or to ſhew the fertility of his invention. Under the latter deſcription, we ſhould claſs, 'Mes printemps ſont ſans graces et mes etés ſans roſes,' introduced into Milton's deſcription of his blindneſs; and 'Trempoit ſes pieds brillans dans des flots de roſée,' added to the approach of morning in the opening of the fourth book. Many other additions of this ſort might be cited. But Paradiſe Loſt is too ſtately for the frippery of theſe little ornaments: they are too light and trifling, ever to harmonize with the original grandeur of the edifice; and are more fitted for that ſtyle of verſification in which Mr De Lille has heretofore diſtinguiſhed himſelf, than for epic poetry. The whole work, indeed, appears to have been executed in great haſte, and with much careleſſneſs; at leaſt, it is to this circumſtance alone that we can attribute the miſapprehenſion of ſeveral paſſages, which, from Mr

De

De Lille's accurate knowledge of the Engliſh language, we ſhould not have expected of him.

We ſhall now proceed to cite ſeveral extracts, as well from the tranſlation, as from the original work. In ſelecting theſe, our chief object will be to chooſe ſuch as will furniſh ſpecimens of each variety of Milton's ſtyle, as, by this method, we can beſt appeal to the unbiaſſed judgement of our readers as to the real merits of this work. We will begin with the anſwer of Satan to Beelzebub.

' Fall'n Cherub! to be weak is miſerable
Doing or ſuffering: but of this be ſure,
To do ought good, never will be our taſk,
But ever to do ill our ſole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we reſiſt.'

' *Foibles guerriers,* jadis l'honneur des chérubins,
Travailler ou ſouffrir, quels que ſoient nos deſtins!
Il eſt dur, dit Satan, de ſentir ſa foibleſſe.
Que nous veut de ce Dieu la fureur vengereſſe?
Je ne ſais; mais, crois-moi, déſormais aucun bien
N'eſt plus fait pour ton cœur, n'eſt plus fait pour le mien.
Eh bien, pour affliger ce monarque ſuprême,
Aimons ce qu'il abhorre, abhorrons ce qu'il aime.' p. 131-2.

Here the reader will perceive that Mr De Lille has had recourſe to a whole line to render the two words, ' Fall'n Cherub;' and not only this, but we apprehend he has completely perverted the ſenſe of the original, by making him addreſs his warriors generally; whereas he is diſtinctly ſtated to be only talking to his ' neareſt mate;' and ſhortly afterwards, we are informed that all the reſt of the rebellious crew ' lay entranced—on the burning lake.' We are at a loſs to account for the introduction of the fourth line. To make amends, however, for this unneceſſary addition, he ſhortly afterwards compreſſes

' But ſee the angry victor hath recalled
His miniſters of vengeance, and purſuit
Back to the gates of heaven'—

into one energetic line,

' Mais vois notre vainqueur rappelle ſon armée.'

This ſpeech ended, Milton proceeds,

' Thus, Satan talking to his neareſt mate,
With head uplift, above the waves and eyes
That ſparkling blaz'd: his other parts beſide,
Prone on the flood, extending long and large,
Lay floating many a rood'—

' Tel de ſon compagnon dans les flammes plongé
Satan aiguillonnoit *le cœur decouragé.*

Sur

Sur la vague brûlante il eleve ſa tête ;
Ses *regards ſont l'eclair et ſa voix la tempête.*
Sur la face des eaux, du ſuperbe guerrier
S'avance et s'elargit l'immenſe bouclier ;
Vingt ſtades ſont couverts de ſa flottante maſſe.' p. 135.

Here our tranſlator gives more decided ſymptoms of his great paſſion for interpolation. Unfortunately, however, his invention has hurried him on into a direct contradiction to the ſenſe of his original. The *motion of his ſhield* upon the face of the lake, and his voice *ſounding like a tempeſt*, are at all events premature, ſince we are told a few lines afterwards,

'So, ſtretch'd out huge in length, th' arch fiend lay,
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence
Had ris'n,' &c.

His head, indeed, is deſcribed as 'uplift above the flood,' and 'his eyes to have blazed ſparkling;' but the firſt mention of his ſhield was reſerved for another occaſion, the effect of which is conſiderably diminiſhed by this anachroniſm (if we may be allowed the expreſſion) of Mr De Lille. The ſame may be obſerved of his addreſſing his neareſt mate with a voice like a tempeſt; ſince we know, that it was not till he reached the ſhore of the burning lake, that, in order to rouſe his aſſociates,

'He called ſo loud, that all the hollow deep
Of hell reſounded.'——

But to proceed—

'He ſcarce had ſpoke, when the ſuperior fiend
Was moving toward the ſhore; his pond'rous ſhield,
Ethereal temper, maſſy, large, and round,
Behind him caſt; the broad circumference
Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon, whoſe orb
Through optic glaſs the Tuſcan artiſt ſees
At evening from the top of Feſolé,
Or in Valdarno, to deſcry new lands,
Rivers or mountains, in her ſpotty globe.'
'A peine il a parlé, ſon chef audacieux
S'avance vers le lac *dans un profond ſilence.*
Son large dos ſoutient un bouclier immenſe,
Orbe prodigieux dont le vaſte contour
Semble *l'aſtre des nuits*, quand, du haut d'une tour
Ou du ſommet des monts, *l'œil, aidé par le verre,*
S'étonne d'y trouver l'image de la terre,
Ses gouffres, ſes rochers, ſes fleuves, ſes volcans,
Qu'un long tube montroit *au Newton des Toſcans.*' p. 139.

Our readers will perceive how completely the force and propriety of this magnificent compariſon of Satan's ſhield to the moon are loſt in this tranſlation. Every thing that is particular in the

the one is generalized in the other. The periphraſis by which the moon is expreſſed, ſadly enfeebles the idea. The omiſſion of the evening is a great defect; and the fine locality of Valdarno and the top of Feſolé, are but ill ſupplied by the 'haut *d'un tour* ou du *ſommet des monts*. Milton makes the whole of the compariſon tend to one point, that is, the ſimilarity between the orb of the moon and the orb of Satan's ſhield; whereas the tranſlator loſes himſelf amid the gulphs, rocks, rivers and volcanoes, which, as he happily expreſſes it, a *long tube ſhews to the Newton of the Tuſcans*. Indignant as we muſt feel at the metempſychoſis to which this ſplendid paſſage has been condemned, we cannot help ſmiling at the abſurd anachroniſm of making Milton introduce the name of Newton, who did not begin to flouriſh till ſome years after the publication of his poem. Our readers all remember the famous paſſage,

'Thus far theſe beyond
Compare of mortal proweſs, yet obſerv'd
Their dread commander: He, above the reſt
In ſhape and geſture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower,' &c. Book I. l. 586.

This is tranſlated by Mr De Lille as follows:

'Tous ces pouvoirs mortels que ſont-ils, comparés
A ces rivaux du ciel contre lui conjurés?
Au-deſſus de leur foule immenſe, mais docile,
Satan, comme une tour, élève un front tranquille;
Lui ſeul, ainſi qu'en force il les paſſe en grandeur:
Son front, où s'entrevoit ſon antique ſplendeur,
D'ombres et de lumière offre un confus mélange;
Et ſi c'eſt un débris, c'eſt celui d'un archange.
Qui, lumineux encor, n'eſt plus éblouiſſant
Vers l'horizon obſcur tel le ſoleil naiſſant
Jette à peine, au milieu des vapeurs nébuleuſes,
De timides rayons et des lueurs douteuſes;
Ou tel, lorſque ſa ſœur offuſque ſes clartés,
Pâle, et portant le trouble aux rois épouvantes,
Il épanche à regret une triſte lumière,
Des déſaſtres fameux ſiniſtre avant-courrière;
Mais, à travers la nuit qui nous glace d'effroi,
Tous les aſtres encor reconnoiſſent leur roi.
Tel ſe montre Satan; tel ſon éclat céleſte,
Tout éclipſé qu'il eſt, éclipſe tout le reſte.
Foudroyé, mais debout, triſte et majeſtueux,
Sur ſon front, que du ciel ont ſillonné les feux,
Du tonnerre vengeur on voit encor les traces:
La douleur dans ſes traits a gravé ſes diſgrâces;
Mais dans ſon air penſif perce, à travers ſon deuil,
Le courroux révolté, l'opiniâtre orgueil.

Cependant

Cependant le remords eſt dans ſon œil farouche ;
La vengeance l'aigrit, le repentir le touche ;
Il voit avec douleur tous ces infortunés,
Innombrables eſprits dans ſa chute entraînés,
Déſhérités du ciel, perdus dans ces abimes,
Compagnons de ſa faute, ou plutôt ſes victimes,
Si brillans autrefois, éclipſés aujourd'hui,
Malheureux à jamais, et malheureux par lui,
Ainſi que ſes forfaits partageant ſa misère ;
Et cependant, du ciel défiant la colère,
Leur malheur généreux ſe voue à ſon malheur ;
Leurs honneurs ſont perdus, mais non pas leur valeur :
Tels le chêne des bois et le pin des collines,
Dont la foudre en éclats diſperſa les ruines,
D'une riche verdure autrefois habillés,
Bravent encor le ciel de leurs fronts dépouillés.' p. 156-8.

To expreſs the two firſt lines of this paſſage, Mr De Lille has had recourſe to a note of interrogation, one of his favourite methods of varying from the original. The two French lines literally tranſlated would ſtand thus: *All theſe mortal powers, what are they, compared to thoſe rivals of heaven conſpired againſt it?* In which notable verſion he has omitted that, which we apprehend was Milton's leading idea in this paſſage; for he intends, not merely to declare that all the moſt powerful armies that ever were collected or imagined, were not to be compared with this, (evidently having the Homeric idea in view, Αλλ' ουδε οι δεκατοι ποσμ οσσοι ηλικωπες Αχοιοι); but he goes a ſtep farther, and aſſerts, that this army, powerful and gigantic as it was,

——— yet obſerved
Their dread commander.'

The whole enumeration is intended to prepare our minds for the grand portrait he is about to delineate of Satan. This idea Mr De Lille has wholly omitted in its proper place, probably becauſe he thought he had diſcovered one happy word (*docile*), which would expreſs the whole of it in another ſentence, and which would have the additional advantage of rhyming with the expreſſion which he had ſelected for the concluſion of the ſubſequent line. Nor can it be denied, but that if '*docile*' is forcible enough to expreſs 'yet obſerved their dread commander,' '*front tranquille*' will ſerve quite as well to give his countrymen an adequate idea of—

'He above the reſt, in ſhape and geſture
Proudly eminent.'

In the compariſon of Satan with the Sun, our tranſlator ſeems again, as in the inſtance cited above, to have loſt ſight of the point of compariſon, in order to point out how the ſtars twinkle through a night which *freezes us with fright, and acknowledge them*

them ſhining when his ſiſter darkens his rays. Milton's idea, if we miſtake not, is to ſhew, that the luſtre of Satan, faded as it was, '*ſhone* above the reſt.' This, Mr De Lille ſeems to have diſcovered afterwards; and adds,

'Tel ſe montre Satan; tel ſon eclat celeſte
Tout eclipsé qu'il eſt, eclipse tout le reſte.'

Theſe are good lines, but they are not Miltonic. 'Foudroyé mais debout,' is ridiculous; and 'Le repentir le touche,' is a moſt ill-placed aberration from the meaning of the original. From this we can only conjecture, that our tranſlator has here, as in another inſtance, miſtaken the character of the perſon who is the object of this deſcription. Such as Satan is formed in the beginning of this poem, ſuch he is preſerved until the end of it. No one deviation from the leading features of his character occurs. It is repreſented throughout as a mixture of great vices and great talents—as of one endowed with qualities, which, if directed by proper means, to proper objects, would be called great virtues. Ever forgetful of himſelf—ever mindful of his aſſociates, he is ready, on every occaſion, to expoſe himſelf for their welfare. If a perilous journey is to be undertaken—if the barriers of hell are to be ſurpaſſed; neither the difficulties that embarraſs the one, nor the phantoms that encircle the other, can appal him: nor does he ever appear to be dejected by ill ſucceſs. The ſenſation, therefore, he experiences at this moment, when he is on the point of rallying his ſcattered forces, and endeavouring to inſpire into them his own ſoul, reſembles in nothing that attributed to him by Mr De Lille; it is a mixt feeling of indignation and vexation, to behold 'the fellows of his crime, the followers rather,' &c. 'for his fault amerc'd of heaven.' Inflexible of purpoſe, he is alike incapable of fear and of repentance: and though he may be abaſhed, as he afterwards is, in the proceſs of this ſtory, by the ſuperior lovelineſs of virtue—though he may be overawed, as he more than once is, by the controul of a ſuperior agent; ſtill he will only lament the loſs of virtue, becauſe it prevents him from executing an evil purpoſe; and he is only overawed by a ſuperior power, from his total inability to reſiſt it. Neither the feelings of repentance, as introduced here, nor the ſentiment expreſſed by the word 'effroi,' in the beginning of this book, form any one of the ingredients of the character as pourtrayed in the original.

Padré Rolli has been more ſucceſsful in his verſion of this ſublime paſſage.

'Cotanto eran Coſtor ſuperiori
Al paragon d'ogni mortal prodezza
E attenti pur tutti oſſervando ſtanno
Del lor tremendo comandante i cenni.—

Ei su'l reſto in ſtatura e in portamento
Torreggiava ſuperbo : ancor ſua forma
Perduto non avea tutto il nativo
Scintillante fulgore, e comparia
Nulla men che un arcangel rovinato
E che di gloria un' oſcurato eccesſo. '

The whole of this is well executed. Nothing indeed in the way of tranſlation can be happier than—

' Ei ſu'l reſto in ſtatura e in portamento
Torreggiava ſuperbo. '

The concluding ſimile of the paſſage approaches infinitely nearer the original than Mr De Lille.

' Così allor che fiamma
Celeſte devaſto d'una foreſta
Le quercie, o gli alti montuoſi Pini,
Benchè framati, et aridi ; pur ſtanno
Su l'arſo ſuolo Maeſtogli i Tronchi. '

But to return to Mr De Lille. We will make ſeveral extracts, and leave them to the comments of our readers.

In Book IV. l. 32. Milton ſays,

' O thou that with ſurpaſſing glory crown'd,
Look'st from thy ſole dominion like the god
Of this new world ; at whoſe ſight all the ſtars
Hide their diminiſh'd heads ; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O ſun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what ſtate
I fell, how glorious once above thy ſphere ;
Till pride, and worſe ambition, threw me down,
Warring in heaven againſt heaven's matchleſs King. '

Here is M. De Lille's tranſlation.

' Globe reſplendiſſant, majeſtueux flambeau,
Toi qui ſembles le dieu de ce monde nouveau,
Toi dont le ſeul aſpect fait pâlir les étoiles,
Et commande à la nuit de replier ſes voiles,
Bienfait de mon tyran, chef-d'œuvre de ton roi,
Toi qui charmes le monde et n'affliges que moi,
Soleil, que je te hais ! et combien ta lumière
Réveille les regrets de ma ſplendeur première !
Hélas ! ſans ma révolte, *aſſis au haut des cieux,*
Un ſeul de mes rayons eût éclipſé tes feux ;
Et, ſur mon trône d'or, preſque égal à Dieu même,
J'aurois vu ſous mes pieds ton brillant diadème.
Je ſuis tombé, l'orgueil m'a plongé dans les fers,
Il m'a fermé les cieux et creuſé les enfers. ' p. 13. 14.

Without troubling our readers with any remarks on this paſſage, we

we ſhall proceed to lay before them the following additional ſpecimens.

' O hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!
Into our room of bliſs thus high advanc'd
Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps,
Not ſpirits, yet to heav'nly ſpirits bright
Little inferior; whom my thoughts purſue
With wonder, and could love, ſo lively ſhines
In them divine reſemblance, and ſuch grace
The hand that form'd them on their ſhape hath pour'd.' IV. 357.

' Puiſſances de l'enfer, voilà donc cette race
A qui notre oppreſſeur a promis notre place!
O rage! ils ſont heureux, et nous ſommes proſcrits!
Plus je les conſidère, et plus je ſuis ſurpris.
Aſſemblage nouveau de *lumière et de fange*,
Voiſins de la matière, ils approchent de l'ange
Moi-même, en les voyant ſi ſemblables à nous,
Je ſens que ma pitié balance mon courroux,
Tant ſur eux l'Eternel a répandu de grâce.' p. 35.

' Now came ſtill evening on, and twilight gray
Had in her ſober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied; for beaſt and bird
They to their graſſy couch, theſe to their neſts
Were ſlunk; all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous deſcant ſung:
Silence was pleas'd; now glow'd the firmament
With living ſapphires: Heſperus, that led
The ſtarry hoſt, rode brighteſt, till the moon
Riſing in clouded majeſty, at length
Apparent queen unveil'd her peerleſs light,
And o'er the dark her ſilver mantle threw.' IV. 598.

' Mais enfin *la nuit vient*, et le peuple des fleurs
A du ſoir par degrés revêtu les couleurs;
Le ſilence la ſuit; les troupeaux s'aſſoupiſſent:
Tous les oiſeaux muets dans leurs nids ſe tapiſſent;
Tous, hors le roſſignol, qui, d'un ton amoureux,
Répète *dans la nuit* ſes refrains douloureux:
Il *chante*, *l'air répond*, et *le ſilence écoute*.
Cependant de ſaphirs les cieux peignent leur voûte;
Précurſeur radieux des aſtres de la nuit,
Le brillant Heſpérus en pompe les conduit.
Au milieu du repos, de l'ombre et du ſilence,
D'un air majeſtueux leur reine enfin s'avance;
Et, verſant ſur le monde une tendre clarté,
De ſon trône d'azur jette un voile argenté.' p. 50.

The beautiful lines beginning ' *Hail, wedded love—myſterious love,*' &c. are thus tranſlated.

' Et toi, ſource de biens, ſalut, hymen ſacré,
Par Dieu même permis, par Dieu même inſpiré !
Ah ! ceux dont la vertu renonce à tes délices
Font le plus généreux de tous les ſacrifices !
Salut, premier berceau de la ſociété,
De ces premiers époux ſeule propriété !
Quand la brute avec eux partageoit leur domaine,
Pour eux Dieu réſerva ton innocente chaîne :
Le roi des animaux laiſſe à leur vague amour,
Et leur flamme adultère, et leur penchant d'un jour.
Toi, ta ſainte union ſeule eſt durable et pure,
Et la raiſon l'approuve ainſi que la nature :
De toi viennent ces nœuds et ces rapports chéris
Et de frère et de ſœur, et de père et de fils ;
Ces nœuds ſont à la fois les richeſſes publiques,
Et de l'homme privé les douceurs domeſtiques.
Pour toi le chaſte amour choiſit ſes fléches d'or ;
Là ſes ailes de pourpre arrêtent leur eſſor ;
Tu nourris ſon flambeau ; ta vertueuſe flamme
N'eſt point l'éclair des ſens, mais le doux feu de l'ame.
Dans la profane orgie et le vain bruit des cours
Je n'irai point chercher les pudiques amours ;
On ne les trouve point dans la veille galante
De ces amans tranſis dont la lyre dolente,
Confiant leurs chagrins aux fraîches nuits d'été,
Chante ſous ſes balcons l'orgueilleuſe beauté.
Loin de toi des Phrynés les vénales careſſes,
Leurs faveurs ſans amour, leurs baiſers ſans tendreſſes,
Vil tribut du haſard, ivreſſe du moment !
Tels n'étoient point les nœuds de ce couple charmant.' 59. 60.

We do not pretend to dive into the motive which led to the interpolation of the thought contained in theſe lines,

' Ah, ceux dont la vertu renonce à tes délices
Font le plus généreux de tous les ſacrifices ! '

but of this we are ſure, that thoſe to whom they are addreſſed are ſolely indebted to Mr De Lille for a compliment that Milton certainly never intended to favour them with. It is obſervable that, though in the paſſage above cited twenty lines have been ſwelled into thirty in the tranſlation, ſtill five whole lines, viz. from ' Far be it,' to ' Patriarchs and,' are entirely omitted.

In the following paſſages the character of the original is quite obliterated.

' His fair large front and eye ſublime declar'd
Abſolute rule ; and hyacinthine locks

Round

Round from his parted forehead manly hung
Cluſt'ring, but not beneath his ſhoulders broad.'

' Sur ſon front mâle et fier ſes cheveux partagés
Voilent ſon cou d'albâtre; et leurs flots négligés,
Sans paſſer ſon épaule, en grappes ondoyantes
Rouloient le jai brillant de leurs touffes pendantes.' p. 31.

' Why haſt thou, Satan, broke the bounds preſcrib'd
To thy tranſgreſſions, and diſturb'd the charge
Of others who approve not to tranſgreſs
By thy example, but have power and right
To queſtion thy bold entrance on this place;
Employ'd it ſeems to violate ſleep, and thoſe
Whoſe dwelling God hath planted here in bliſs.' IV. 877.

' *Eſclave révolté, parle, pourquoi viens-tu*
Du ſouffle impur du vice infecter la vertu?
Qu'a de commun Satan avec des cœurs fidèles?
Nul de nous n'a trempé dans tes complots rebelles;
Pourquoi donc, échappé de tes cachots affreux,
As-tu de ta preſence affligé ces beaux lieux?' p. 66.

Here we ſearch in vain for a ſemblance of the original. Nor after this can we be aſtoniſhed at his introducing ſuch expreſſions as *vil fugitif, brigand inſidieux*, into the mouth of Gabriel, and the angels his aſſociates, or at his tranſlating ' Proud limitary cherub' *enfant audacieux.*

' Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,
Proud limitary cherub, but ere then
Far heavier load thyſelf expect to feel
From my prevailing arm, though heaven's King
Ride on thy wings, and thou, with thy compeers,
Us'd to the yoke, draw'ſt his triumphant wheels
In progreſs through the road of heav'n ſtar-pav'd.' IV. 570.

' Qui? toi! toi! me ſaiſir, toi me charger d'entraves,
Audacieux enfant! Sais-tu bien qui tu braves?
Va, je t'apprête un coup plus peſant que mes fers,
Que ces portes d'airain, barrières des enfers;
C'eſt pour toi déſormais que ſont faits les ſupplices.
Oui, quand ton Dieu lui-même, aſſemblant ſes milices,
Sur nous feroit gronder ſon foudre menaçant,
Quand tous vous ſeriez joints à ce Dieu ſi puiſſant,
Vous qui, portant ſon joug, eſclaves fiers de l'être,
En pompe ſur ſon char promenez votre maître,
Tremblez.——' p. 71.

We give the following examples without any commentary.

' To whom the virgin majeſty of Eve,
As one who loves, and ſome unkindneſs meets,
With ſweet auſtere compoſure thus reply'd.'

' A ces mots, ſa *compagne auſſi chaſte que pure,*
S'affligeant d'un *ſoupçon dont ſa gloire murmure,*
Lui repond d'un air triſte enſemble et gracieux.'

' So ſaying, her raſh hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, ſhe pluck'd, ſhe ate,
Earth felt the wound, and nature from her ſeat,
Sighing through all her works, gave ſigns of woe
That all was loſt.——' IX. 780.

' Elle dit ; et ſoudain, O forfait lamentable,
Sur le fruit tentateur porte une main coupable,
Le ſaiſit, le devore ; à peine il eſt cueilli,
D'epouvante et d'horreur la terre a treſſailli ;
La nature en repent la bleſſure profonde,
Et marque par ſon deuil la ruine du monde.'

' On th' other ſide, Adam, ſoon as he heard
The fatal treſpaſs done by Eve, amaz'd,
Aſtonied ſtood, and blank, while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd ;
From his ſlack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
Down dropt, and all the faded roſes ſhed.' IX. 887.

' Mais que devient Adam à ce recit funeſte ?
De ſa force mourante il cherché en vain le reſte,
D'horreur, en l'ecoutant, ſon front s'eſt heriſſé,
Tout ſon corps en friſſonne, et ſon ſang eſt glacé ;
Sa defaillante main laiſſe tomber les roſes,
Que *pour un ſort plus doux le matin vit eclоſes ;*
La couronne de myrte, et les feſtons fleuris,
Brillant comme elle, helas! et comme elle fletris.'

' Love not the heav'nly ſpirits, and how their love
Expreſs they ?' VIII. 615.

' Aimez-vous dans les cieux ? et quels ſont vos amours,
Eſt-ce un tendre regard, ou de tendre diſcours,
Vous lancez-vous de loin vos amoureuſes flammes ?'

Really, if it were not Mr De Lille that we were criticiſing, we ſhould be tempted to compare the perſon who could ſo tranſlate, to a certain Faret, who

—pourſuivant Moiſe au travers des deſerts,
Court avec Pharaon ſe noyer dans les mers.

Our readers have probably been able to collect from the extracts we have already made, proof ſufficient both of the redundancies and deficiencies of this tranſlation. We will, however, now direct their attention to ſome more particular ſpecimens of both. To begin with the redundancies.

' But rather to tell how, if art could tell,
How from the ſapphire fount the criſped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearls and ſands of gold,

With

With mazy error, under verdant ſhades,
Ran nectar,' &c. IV. 296.

The twelve beautiful lines which complete this picture are extended into thirty.

' —o'er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant——'

' Sur eux rampe le lierre, ou montant avec grâce
De ſes bras tortueux la vigne les embraſſe,
Et le long de leur voûte élève dans les airs
Et ſes grappes de pourpre et ſes feuillages verts.' p. 28.

To quote more inſtances of redundancy would be tedious. We will now produce a few ſpecimens of the paſſages in which the ſenſe of the original is either remarkably abridged, or wholly omitted.

Book IV. line 997.

' While thus he ſpake, th' angelic ſquadron bright
Turn'd fiery red, ſharp'ning in mooned horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported ſpears——'

is thus rendered by only two lines,

' Il dit: la rage enflamme leurs regards,
Satan eſt inveſti d'une forêt de dards.'

And ſhortly afterwards, line 985.

' —On th' other ſide, Satan alarm'd,
Collecting all his might, dilated ſtood,
Like Teneriffe or Atlas unremov'd:
His ſtature reach'd the ſky, and on his creſt
Sat horror plum'd; nor wanted in his graſp
What ſeem'd both ſpear and ſhield—'

is again expreſſed by two lines.

' Pareil au mont Athos, terrible, inébranlable,
L'affreux Satan prepare un choc épouvantable.'

Book IV. line 272.

' ——nor that ſweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inſpir'd
Caſtalian ſpring, might with this Paradiſe
Of Eden ſtrive; nor that Nyſeian iſle
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call, and Lybian Jove,
Hid Amalthea, and her florid ſon
Young Bacchus, from his ſtepdame Rhea's eye.'

' Au boſquet de Daphné que vient baigner l'Oronte,
Aux eaux de Caſtalie Eden auroit fait honte;
Ces bocages heureux qu'arroſe le Triton,
Ces coteaux fortunés où Jupiter, dit-on,

Cacha Bacchus enfant et la chèvre Amalthée,
N'avoient rien de ſi beau dans leur île ench antée.' p. 29.

Book V. line 246.

'So ſpake the eternal Father, and fulfill'd
All juſtice: nor delay'd the winged ſaint
After his charge receiv'd; but from among
Thouſand celeſtial ardors, where he ſtood
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, upſpringing light
Flew through the midſt of heav'n: the angelic choirs
On each hand parting, to his ſpeed gave way
Through all th' empyreal road; till at the gate
Of heaven arriv'd—'

'Tel eſt l'arrêt de Dieu; Raphaël à ces mots
S'incline avec reſpect, et déployant ſes ailes
Qui défendoient ſes yeux des ſplendeurs éternelles,
Fend la preſſe qui s'ouvre, arrive en un inſtant
A la porte du ciel.' p. 98.

However little we had expected Mr De Lille to emulate the ſublimer parts of Milton, we had flattered ourſelves that he would at leaſt have been ſucceſsful in his deſcriptions of the Garden of Eden, and of the manners and characters of our firſt parents before their fall. Our diſappointment, therefore, was proportionate to our regret, at diſcovering that even here he had failed as completely as in any other part of the poem.

The chaſte correctneſs of Milton's taſte led him to characterize Adam and Eve by every geſture and every idea that might be conceived ſuitable to a ſtate of perfect innocence. Even in his deſcription of Eve's beauty and accompliſhments, he has never for an inſtant allowed us to forget who ſhe was, and where ſhe was placed. If he has to attribute to her the fervour or the profeſſion of love, he does it without artifice or extravagance: if he is to pourtray her perſonal charms, he does not ſuffer his imagination to be led aſtray by the romantic ideas that prevail among the writers of the age of chivalry, or by the more voluptuous deſcriptions that are to be met with in the great poets of the ancient world. He never for an inſtant forgets that his heroine was the heroine of Paradiſe.

But under the metamorphoſing wand of Mr De Lille every thing is changed. The diſcourſes of Adam and Eve are embelliſhed by all the frippery of French gallantry; and they hand one another up and down the Garden of Eden after the faſhion of two ſprightly lovers promenading in the Champs Elysées. Whatever they do, it is 'en *ſe donnant la main.*' Their ſpeeches are frequently followed by '*amorous pauſes.*' We have more than once,

'à ce *diſcours ſuccède un amoureux* ſilence.'

We

We read of ' des *folâtres propos*—les doux embraſſements—*prix des careſſes perdues*—leçons doucement ſuſpendues. '

——' ſur ſa bouche aimable
Cueillir un miel plus doux que celui des diſcours. '

And who would recognize ' the virgin majeſty of Eve ' in ſuch expreſſions as ' ſes regards chaſtes et *voluptueux* '—' ſon aimable fierté ; ' or in the following lines ?

' La *volupte*, l'amour, l'eſſaim riant des graces,
Compoſent ſon cortége et volent ſur ſes traces.

At every line, too, we find Adam making uſe of ſuch endearing terms, as ' Un autre moi même, '—' Ma brillante conquête, ' —' Ma plus chère moitié, '—' Doux repos de mon cœur, '—' Charme de mon cœur, ' &c. Even the devil himſelf, when he is enumerating the enjoyments of Adam, is made to exclaim, like an amorous marquis of the old French comedy, ' *Et ſa femme eſt raviſſante !* ' The only reaſon we can deviſe for the embelliſhment of the original, by the introduction of theſe and other ſimilar expreſſions, is that which Mr De Lille himſelf has given us in another place, as an excuſe for having interpolated ſo much into the deſcription of the repaſt ſet before the archangel Raphael by Adam and Eve ; upon which occaſion he informs us he thought it neceſſary to interpoſe, in order *d'en enrichir les détails*, et *d'en fortifier les couleurs.*

We think our readers will have ſome difficulty in diſcovering from what part of the original the following lines are tranſlated :

' Au milieu du travail il (Dieu) permet quelquefois
Que ma main ſe repoſe un moment dans le tienne,
Que ta bouche en paſſant vient affleurer la mienne,
Qu'un champêtre repas, nous rende la vigueur,
Par de tendres diſcours, doux aliment du cœur ;
D'un penible exerciſe *il* permet qu'on reſpire,
Qu'on s'adreſſe un regard, qu'on s'envoie un ſoupir. '

Our tranſlator, in his criticiſms on the ninth book, has thought proper to enter into a long defence of Arioſto againſt Milton, who, he ſays, in the commencement of this book, ' Oublie le ton d'Epopée pour celui de ſatyre. ' We apprehend that no attack againſt Arioſto was intended. We cannot but think that Milton, who, on all occaſions, delights in making an oſtentatious diſplay of his learning, merely intended here to ſhow his intimate acquaintance with all the pomp and circumſtance of chivalry, and to diſplay it in a manner that might demonſtrate, that had he written on that theme, he could entirely have entered into the ſpirit of it. For the ſame reaſon, Horace, when he profeſſes himſelf incapable of writing an epic poem, riſes above his ordinary ſtyle and language, and breaks out into theſe verſes, which ſhew him to have been at leaſt equal to more exalted flights.

' Neque

' Neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina, nec fractâ pereuntes cuſpide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo deſcribat vulnera Parthi.'

Milton had not only drunk deep of the pure ſtreams of Italy, but he owed much to the writings of chivalry. Surely, Mr De Lille muſt be aware that he heſitated long whether he ſhould chooſe the death of Arthur, or the fall of man, for the ſubject of his poem. This we may collect as well from ſeveral paſſages in his proſe works, as from his epiſtle to the celebrated Marquis of Villa.

' Si quando indigenas revocabo in prælia reges,
Arturumque etiam ſub terris bella moventem.'

And again, in the *Epithalamium Damonis*;

' Ipſe ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, et Pandraſidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
Brennumque Arvigarumque duces, priſcumque Belinum, &c.
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernen, &c.

And even when his choice was made—inſpired as his genius was with the ſublimity of the prophetic writings, impregnated (if we may be allowed the expreſſion) as it was with the greateſt ſtore of claſſical learning ever poſſeſſed by man—ſtill he loſes no opportunity of recurring to his favourite themes; and it is always with delight and pleaſure that he alludes to ſtories

——' of Uther's ſon
Begirt with Britiſh and Armoric knights.'——

If the limits of our work would admit of ſuch a digreſſion, it would be matter of curious ſpeculation to point out many of the expreſſions, and much of the imagery, that Milton has borrowed from books of romance and chivalry. All traces of theſe, however, are completely loſt in the French tranſlation; much more ſo indeed than thoſe alluſions which he adopted from the great Italian poets who more immediately preceded him, as well as from thoſe ancient writers whoſe compoſitions have been the delight and admiration of all ages. Theſe alluſions (for we meet with them in every page, and ſo cloſely interwoven are they with Milton's own thoughts and expreſſions, that it is frequently difficult to diſcriminate between them) have neceſſarily made their way into Mr De Lille's tranſlation, but under ſo languid and enfeebled a form, that a French reader will hardly recognize any veſtige of their priſtine ſtrength and vigour. Thus, for inſtance, in the Firſt Book, when he makes mention of Typhon,

——' whom the den
By ancient Tarſus held,'

it is obvious that he has in view the following paſſage in Pindar:

τὸν

τὸν πόδι
Κλιτὸν ἐρείψειν πολυω-
νυμον ὄφρος.

But how would this appear ſo from Mr De Lille?

——— ‘ Ces vaſtes Typhons,
Que Tarſe renfermoit dans ſes antres profonds. ’

And again in Homer:

τοῦ ὑγιλαοντι
χειλισιν ὠδὶ μίλωπας ἐπ' ὀφρυσιν ἐυρυν ἰασθη,

probably furniſhed the idea for

‘ Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep deſpair. ’

What trace of this in

‘ La terreur dans le ſein, l'orgueil dans ſa bouche? ’

Dante has ‘ L'alpeſtra monte, ond' è tronco Peloro. ’

Milton. ‘ Torn from Pelorus, or the ſhatter'd ſide
Of thundering Etna. ’

DeLille. ‘ Un débris de *Veſuve*, un eclat de Pelore. ’

Homer. Καλη υπο Πλαταιστω.

Milton. ‘ Under a platan. ’

DeLille. ‘ Sous un platan ſombre. ’

Taſſo. ‘ Quaſi in quel punto mille ſpade ardento
Furon veduti fiammeggiar inſieme.

Milton. ‘ Out flew
Millions of flaming ſwords, drawn from the thigh
Of mighty cherubim—the ſudden blaze
Far round illumin'd hell.——

DeLille. ‘ A peine il a parlé, juſqu'au fond des enfers,
Les glaives flamboyans font jaillir mils éclairs.

We will not trouble our readers by enumerating the ſeveral paſſages in the Iliad, the Odyſſey, and the Æneid, which Milton probably had in view when he compoſed the following lines; they are ſo obvious, that they muſt preſent themſelves immediately to every one's recollection.

Milton. ‘ Thus ſaying, from her huſband's hand her hand
Soft ſhe withdrew, and like a wood-nymph light,
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves; but Delia's ſelf
In gait ſurpaſs'd, and goddeſs-like deport;
Though not, as ſhe, with bow and quiver arm'd,
But with ſuch gard'ning tools as art yet rude,
Guiltleſs of fire, had form'd, or angels brought.
To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,
Likeſt ſhe ſeem'd; Pomona, when ſhe fled
Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime,
Yet virgin of Proſerpina from Jove. ’ Book IX. l. 385.

DeLille. ‘ Elle dit, et des mains de ſon fidèle appui,

Sa main qu'il tient encor doucement ſe dégage ;
Elle part : moins légère en ſa courſe volage
Des menſonges brillans nous peignoient autrefois
La jeune Hamadryade et la nymphe des bois ;
Bien moins majeſtueux la fiction profane
Nous peignoit et les traits et le port de Diane.
Au lieu d'arc, de carquois, la ſerpe, le rateau
A ſa jeune beauté prête un charme nouveau :
Adam même forgea cette armure champêtre,
Ou quelque ange des cieux les apporta peut-être. p. 33-4.

If further ſpecimen of Mr De Lille's ſucceſs in this tranſlation were wanting, we might refer to the ſequel of this beautiful paſſage as it ſtands in the original and in the preſent verſion ; or, indeed, we might refer ſo generally to the whole of the work, that we ſhould have ſome difficulty in ſelecting many paſſages as exceptions to the general cenſure we have been compelled to paſs upon it. Perhaps the following extract is one of the parts which have been the beſt executed. Beautiful as it is in the original it differs, in ſome reſpects, from Milton's general ſtyle of compoſition ; and perhaps, for this very reaſon, Mr De Lille has been more ſucceſsful in his tranſlation of it, though many of the faults we have noticed are very perceptible even here. The original is in the Fourth Book—

'*With thee converſing I forget all time,*' &c.

down to

'*Or glittering ſtar-light, without thee is ſweet.*'

'Oui, cher époux, dans toi je trouve tous les dons ;
Je ne diſtingue point les heures, les ſaiſons ;
Avec toi tout me plaît dans la nature entière.
J'aime l'aube du jour et ſa douce lumière,
Du réveil des oiſeaux le concert matinal ;
J'aime à voir du ſoleil l'éclat oriental
Colorant par degrés de ſes clartés naiſſantes
Et nos prés et nos fleurs, et nos fruits et nos plantes ;
Lorſque la fraîche ondée a plu du haut des cieux,
J'aime de ces boſquets l'ambre délicieux ;
J'aime à voir ſur le ſein de la terre arroſée
L'herbe où tremblent encor les gouttes de roſée.
Je rêve doucement, quand le ſoir de retour
Vient repoſer nos yeux de l'éclat d'un beau jour,
Et lorſque, reprenant ſon amoureuſe veille,
Le tendre roſſignol enchante mon oreille,
Et lorſque de ſes feux, pareil au diamant,
L'aſtre brillant des nuits pare le firmament.
Mais tout ce qui me plaît dans la nature entière,
Les prémices du jour et ſa douce lumière,

Des

Des oiſeaux réveillés le concert matinal,
Du ſoleil renaiſſant l'éclat oriental,
Et la pluie humectant la campagne arrosée,
L'herbe où tremblent encor les gouttes de roſée,
Un beau ſoir, des boſquets l'hôte melodieux,
Le repos de la nuit, ſon cours ſilencieux,
Ses innombrables feux, ſes légions d'étoiles,
Et tous ces diamans dont elle orne ſes voiles,
O charme de mon cœur! que ſeroient-ils ſans toi?' p. 52-3.

If we had not already exceeded the limits preſcribed to a criticiſm of this nature, it was our intention to have pointed out ſeveral extraordinary inſtances of Mr De Lille's uſe of the note of interrogation, and of the periphraſis. The latter, indeed, is ſo frequent, that we believe there are few inſtances throughout the whole poem, where he has tranſlated ſuch nouns as the ſun, moon, or even man, by a ſingle word. We had alſo wiſhed to have commented on ſeveral paſſages, where he has deſcended ſo infinitely below the dignity of epic poetry, as almoſt to burleſque the original; ſuch, for inſtance, as when, in the beginning of the Fifth Book, after '*Such whiſpering waked her*,' he interpolates, 'Eve les yeux troublés *en ſurſaut* ſe releve;' or where he tranſlates

——'Meanwhile, at table, Eve
Miniſtered naked.'

——'Eve chaſtement nue
Satisfaiſant enſemble et le gout, et la vue.'

We truſt, however, that from the extracts we have made, our readers will be able to form an accurate idea of the real merits of this work. They cannot, we think, fail to perceive, that, of all authors, Mr De Lille has departed the fartheſt from the rule he laid down on a former occaſion, viz. 'that the tranſlator of a whole work was bound to preſerve the thoughts and expreſſions of his prototype, and to attend even to his *coſtume*.' In the caſe before us, it is in vain that we ſearch for the original; neither the perſon, the dreſs, nor the manners, are the ſame. Preſented in this form, Milton can only appear, even to thoſe who are moſt intimately acquainted with him, as the 'exceſs of glory obſcured,' or

'As when the ſun new riſen
Looks through the horizontal miſty air
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipſe, diſaſtrous twilight ſheds.' Book I. l. 593.

We will not apologize to our readers for the length of the extracts we have made. Our object has been, rather to lay before them paſſages which would of themſelves ſuggeſt matter for criticiſm, than to criticiſe, ourſelves. Accordingly, we have chiefly

ſelected

ſelected thoſe which muſt be familiar to every one who is at all verſed in Engliſh literature. Thoſe who know how to feel and appreciate their excellences, cannot but experience delight whenever they are recalled to their recollection; thoſe (if any ſuch there be) who are not yet acquainted with them, cannot but rejoice at their diſcovery.

ART. XV. *An Inquiry into the State of the Nation at the Commencement of the preſent Adminiſtration.* pp. 238. 8vo. London. Ridgeway 1806. Third Edition.

THE ſudden diſſolution of the laſt miniſtry prevented the Parliament from inquiring into the meaſures which produced the late continental war, and led to the preſent calamitous ſituation of affairs. The object of the tract now before us, is to ſupply this defect, and to exhibit ſuch an account of the ſtate of the nation as might have been derived from the parliamentary diſcuſſion of the ſubject, and may lead, not only to a fair eſtimate of our preſent proſpects, but to the remedies, if any yet remain, for our paſt errors. The work has obtained a very unuſual ſhare of the public attention; and we are now reviewing a third edition, though the firſt has not been publiſhed a week. It is underſtood, indeed, to ſpeak the ſentiments of the Government upon ſome of the moſt important ſubjects of diſcuſſion; its merits are, in our opinion, of the very higheſt order; and we haſten to lay an account of its contents before our readers, with ſome ſpecimens of its execution, that the ſound and wholeſome principles which it appears to us to inculcate, may have a new chance of becoming as extenſively known as they deſerve.

The ſubject of the tract is, an Inquiry into the State of the Nation with reſpect to its Foreign Affairs; it is intended to exhibit a full view of the cauſes which have led to the late diſaſters of the Continent, and of the preſent ſtate of Europe. There remain two other branches of the ſubject to be diſcuſſed—the State of our Colonial, and of our Domeſtic Policy;—theſe points are omitted, for the preſent, as of leſs urgent importance, and only alluded to in the relation which they bear to the immediate object of the inquiry.

This inquiry is divided into three branches. In the firſt, the cauſes of the late diſaſters on the Continent are inveſtigated at great length, and the errors of the allied powers, eſpecially of England, are fully detailed. In the ſecond part, a ſketch is given of the conſequences of that impolicy, and its effects upon the

ſtate

ſtate of Europe. In the third, a view is taken of the other particulars in the ſtate of Europe, which cannot be directly referred to the late coalition againſt France. The work concludes with the general inferences to which the previous diſcuſſion had led, reſpecting the line of policy to be adopted by this country in her foreign relations.

I. In reviewing the hiſtory of the late continental league, as detailed by the documents laid before Parliament, our attention is arreſted by ſo many capital errors of primary importance committed by the allies, particularly by England the mover of the confederacy, that it is only difficult to chuſe where we ſhall begin, and to ſay when our expoſition ſhall end. It may be proper juſt to notice the heads under which the work before us arranges thoſe errors, and to preſent a ſummary of the argument, upon the moſt ſtriking of them.

The league was arranged in a manner altogether hoſtile to France, from the very beginning. No attempts were made at pacific overtures, although France had lately ſhewn a deſire to negotiate, and the Government of England had ſome time before pledged itſelf to ſeek the mediation of Ruſſia. A war was the grand object from the firſt; and then this war was entered upon without any preciſe or definite object. The treaties enumerate, indeed, ſeveral purpoſes which the combined powers affect to have in view, ſuch as the independence of Holland, the liberation of Italy, the freedom of Switzerland and others. But the work before us enters into a minute examination of all theſe propoſed objects, and clearly proves that they are mere words of no meaning; that nothing ſhort of the conqueſt of France could ſecure the real independence of countries neceſſarily expoſed to her power, like Holland and Piedmont; that the removal of French troops from theſe provinces is a nugatory demand, ſince France would withdraw them at any rate during peace, and muſt retain the power of replacing them as ſoon as war is renewed, *i. e.* as ſoon as it is her intereſt to replace them; that the liberation of the Continent from French influence or tyranny, was not to be attempted by plunging it in war, but muſt reſult from changes which no hoſtilities can bring about. For the illuſtration of theſe and other poſitions of the ſame tendency, we muſt refer our readers to the work itſelf;—on this part of the queſtion, it abounds in argument and in details, which are extremely inſtructive. Having thus expoſed the groundwork of the late ſyſtem, this diviſion of the reaſoning is ſummed up as follows.

"A league, then, of unparalleled expenſe and vaſt riſk is concerted, without any preciſe object but that of beginning a war; without any view

view more ſpecific than a vague deſire of curbing the power of France; without a plan more comprehenſive than that of freeing from momentary oppreſſion, a few detached parts of the French dependencies; with no preconcerted ſcheme for ſecuring their independence, or for carrying into effect the general wiſh that has been formed to check French uſurpation.—But, it may be aſked, is the ſituation of Europe ſo hopeleſs that no means can be deviſed for accompliſhing the grand objects which we have been rapidly ſurveying? Muſt Holland be united in fate with Belgium, and the Ciſalpine decide the deſtinies of the South?—The conſideration of theſe matters belongs to a future ſtage of this inquiry. At preſent it is enough to have ſhewn that thoſe objects bear no relation to the mere act of commencing a hoſtile coalition; that the fortune of war might drive the French troops out of Holland and Naples, without rendering thoſe ſtates leſs dependent on France; that the emancipation of Europe could only be obtained from a war of this deſcription, in the moſt improbable event of its leading to the entire conqueſt of France; and that the choice of inſtant hoſtilities, without giving any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs, in proſecuting the general ſcheme, precluded all chance of paving the way to better times, by a gradual and peaceable arrangement. The only ſpecific object of the coalition, then, was to make war upon France, and try the event. Let us next inquire, whether this object was proſecuted with ſuch a degree of wiſdom, as beſtowed any title to expect that the event would be proſperous.' p. 21–23.

We cannot follow this important part of the queſtion as minutely as its diſcuſſion deſerves; it conſiſts chiefly of reaſonings from facts and circumſtances contained in the official papers, and enters neceſſarily into much detail. The whole ſubſtance of the argument againſt the late alliance, drawn from a view of the ſtate of Europe at the time, is given with great force and correctneſs in the following ſketch of the relative ſituation of France and Auſtria at the breaking out of the war.

'Such, then, was the unwillingneſs of Auſtria, and ſuch the means employed to bring her into the late ruinous conteſt.—And, truly, when we reflect on the exhauſted ſtate in which the laſt war had left her; when we conſider the loſs of her ancient provinces, beſt ſituated for offenſive operations, and the various difficulties which oppoſed themſelves to any attempt at calling forth the reſources of her new acquiſitions; when we ſurvey her finances, involved in unexampled embarraſſment, and her cumbrous adminiſtration checking in every quarter the development of her natural ſtrength; when, above all, we think of the univerſal dread of a new war, which prevailed through every rank of her people, diſpirited by a recollection of the laſt, and impreſſed with a firm belief in the aſcendant of France; when, to all this, we oppoſe the ſignal advantages of her enemy in every particular;—a compact and powerful territory, impregnable to attack, and commanding its neighbours from the excellence of its offenſive poſitions; an army inured to war and to conſtant

conſtant victory; an armed people intoxicated with natural vanity, and the recollection of unparalleled triumphs; a government, uniting the vigour of military deſpotiſm, with the energies of a new dynaſty; an adminiſtration commanding in its ſervice all the talents of the ſtate; finances, unburthened by the debts of old monarchies, and unfettered by the good faith of wiſer rulers; finally, a military expedition of vaſt magnitude, at the very moment prepared, and applicable to any deſtination which the change of circumſtances might require—when we contraſt theſe mighty reſources with the remnant of her ſtrength which Auſtria had to meet them, we ſhall marvel but little at her backwardneſs to ſeize the preſent juncture for beginning a war, which, if unproſperous, muſt be her laſt. In a prudent delay ſhe ſaw that every advantage might be expected; an improvement in her domeſtic economy; a gradual amelioration of her political conſtitution; the correction of thoſe evils in her military ſyſtem, which had formerly proved fatal; the change of conduct towards her frontier provinces, which the experience of laſt war preſcribed; the progreſs of her rich dominions, and numerous and various population in civility and wealth; the confirmation and extenſion of her foreign alliances. On the other hand, moſt of the enemy's advantages were likely to be impaired by delay; many of them were peculiar to the preſent criſis; almoſt all of them were of a temporary nature. The purſuits of commerce might temper his warlike and turbulent ſpirit; the formidable energy of a new government might yield to the corruption which time never fails to engender, and, though kept quite pure, could not but relax during the interval quiet: The conſtitution was likely to become either more deſpotic and weaker for offenſive meaſures, or more popular and leſs inclined to adopt them; for a nation always becomes a wiſer and better neighbour in proportion as its affairs are influenced by the voice of the community: The arts of peace muſt modify that ſyſtem of military conſcription which made every Frenchman a warrior: The remembrance of recent victories would gradually wear away, both in the army and the nation: Allies might deſert from better views of their intereſt; dependent ſtates might throw off the yoke, when they recovered from the panic that made them bend to it; neutral powers might be roufed to a juſt ſenſe of their duty, when a ſucceſsful reſiſtance ſeemed practicable, and the reeſtabliſhment of the Auſtrian affairs furniſhed a centre round which to rally: The army deſtined to invade England would probably fail in the attempt, or at any rate might be occupied in making it: Factions were more likely to diſturb the vigour of the government when the continent was at peace; nay, the chance was worth conſidering, which every delay gave, of ſome ſiniſter accident befalling the chief, whoſe deſtinies involved thoſe of France herſelf, and whoſe power had not yet received its laſt conſolidation.—Every thing then rendered a delay as hurtful to the enemy as it was deſirable to Auſtria and her allies. If France had been called upon to chuſe the juncture of her affairs, at which a new continental league ſhould be formed againſt her, not only with ſafety, but with eminent advantage

to her intereſts, ſhe would have choſen the year 1804: that the operations of this league, after it had once been formed, ſhould be delayed till the latter part of the year, ſhe could ſcarcely have dared to hope. If Auſtria had been deſired to name the criſis at which her preſent neceſſities, as well as the proſpects of bettering her condition, moſt clearly enjoined an adherence to peace, ſhe muſt have been blind, indeed, not to fix upon the ſame period; and if ſhe had ſhut her eyes to her moſt obvious intereſts, it would have been the beſt policy of her allies to undeceive her, and chiefly of England, who had no ſtay on the continent but Auſtria. But the blindneſs was our's; Auſtria was alive to her true intereſts, as ſhe knew her real ſituation; and we unhappily prevailed upon her to ſeek certain ruin, by partaking of our infatuation.' P. 33.—39.

The next ſubject of complaint againſt the makers of the third coalition, is their ſtrange inattention to Pruſſia. Their utter ignorance of her diſpoſitions when the league was formed, their proſpects of oppoſition from Berlin after they had begun to act, and their perſiſting in the hoſtile plan in ſpite of thoſe proſpects, are clearly demonſtrated from the official documents. We may remark, in paſſing, that the whole of the author's views with reſpect to Pruſſia, both in this and the ſubſequent part of his work, have received a lamentable confirmation ſince its publication.

From a view of theſe errors in the original formation of the plan, we are led to trace the no leſs fatal miſtakes which accompanied its execution. Theſe are chiefly reſolved into one fundamental improvidence,—the want of direct intercourſe between England and Auſtria. Would it have been believed poſſible in King William's days, that England could ever be in ſuch a ſtate as to join, or form a league with powers who would not truſt her with their ſecrets reſpecting the common cauſe, and even refuſe to communicate with her at all, until the moment when her money was wanted? The truth of this charge is diſtinctly made out from the papers themſelves; and there cannot be a doubt, that it was vain to expect any good from a league inſtigated by England, and to the operations of which ſhe was not allowed to be privy. The following paſſage elucidates ſtill more forcibly the inferences reſpecting the conduct of this country, which naturally flow from the preceding facts.

'Now, it may probably be ſtated, that the powers of the continent would not coaleſce with us on any other terms; that from diſlike of our active interference in continental affairs, they refuſed to involve themſelves in a more cloſe connexion with us than the neceſſitous ſtate of their finances required; that from dread of offending France before the ſcheme was matured, they would not acknowledge the extent of their intercourſe with us; that from theſe motives they refuſed to give us any ſhare of influence in arranging the meaſures of the league, and even

even declined admitting us to an intimate knowledge of their concerted ſcheme.—We believe there may be much truth in this ſtatement, and that it will contain a juſt account of the matter, if to theſe motives of repugnance we add a great diſtruſt of our political wiſdom in continental affairs; and perhaps ſome doubts of our good faith, ariſing from our conduct in former wars. But the exiſtence of theſe prepoſſeſſions againſt us, is the very reaſon why this juncture ſhould not have been choſen for a new coalition; and whatever may have been the motives, the repugnance of Auſtria and Ruſſia to ally themſelves with us, was a ſufficient argument againſt preſſing the formation of a league. Auſtria would not give us better terms, you ſay—That is no reaſon for making a confederacy upon bad terms, but a perfectly good reaſon for waiting till better can be obtained. There was no abſolute neceſſity for making war on France in the ſummer of 1805. It is to be hoped we were not in ſuch fear of invaſion, as to buy the ſhort reſpite of a diverſion at any price. There was no preſſing occaſion, ſo far at leaſt as the country was concerned, for having a continental campaign finiſhed before the ſeſſion of Parliament began: It is to be hoped that our repreſentatives would have granted ſupplies without the ſtimulus of a war in the circle of Auſtria; and a confidence in the wiſdom of government might have kept them in good humour, without the fearful amuſement of battles between French and German armies. After we had unwarily begun a new coalition, we might have pauſed when we found the obſtacles to its ſucceſs ſo inſurmountable. There was no fatality to make us perſiſt in arming the continent, when we perceived that the powers of Germany would neither unite together nor confide in us. We ſhould have ſacrificed nothing but our temerity, and loſt nothing but our too ſanguine hopes, had we put off the execution of our raſh deſign, when we diſcovered that Auſtria would not treat directly with us; that ſhe durſt not avow our friendſhip, until Ruſſia came up to protect her from the conſequences of ſuch an admiſſion; that the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin could not be brought to forget Sileſia and the indemnities. It was an ample ground for refuſing to complete the league, that the allies would give us no voice in forming the plans of the campaign, or even in arranging the ſyſtem of the war; that they for the firſt time recogniſed the enemy's favourite policy of excluding us from the continent, and would not hear a whiſper from us until the moment when our money was wanted.

'But every part of our conduct is marked with the ſame deplorable impatience which prompted the firſt ſtep. Having in our raſhneſs reſolved to make a league, notwithſtanding the unfitneſs of the times, the ſame temerity made us perſiſt in our ſcheme, in ſpite of the backwardneſs and diſtruſt of our allies. We hurried on matters to a new coalition, at a moment when the enemy alone could loſe by delay; and preſſed forward the coalition to a new war, when our allies, ſpiritleſs and inefficient in themſelves, would neither ſuffer us to participitate in the formation, nor in the knowledge of the common ſchemes. "Make war"—was our cry—"ſucceſsfully if you can, but make war.—League

againſt France—wiſely and cordially if poſſible, with ſuch a union among yourſelves, and ſuch ſolid help from us, as may give ſome ſmall chance of ſafety, if not of advantage—but at all events league againſt France." Thus a coalition and a campaign were the only objects in the contemplation of our government, and they fatally attained their wiſh; they got up the concert of St Peterſburgh, and the invaſion of Bavaria. There was a convention and a war, however, which they did not bargain for; the enemy was as rapid in completing the picture as they had been in preparing the canvas: the finiſhing, too, for ſo haſty a performance, was wonderfully harmonious with the original deſign—he gave them in a few weeks the conqueſt of Auſtria, and the treaty of Preſburg.' p. 60—65.

From theſe capital errors are deduced the various defects in the combined operations. Four blunders are more particularly expoſed;—the choice of the commander in chief—the conduct of Auſtria towards Bavaria—the groſs miſcalculation of the allies reſpecting the movements of French armies—and the omiſſion of Switzerland in their plan of operations. The ſubject of Switzerland is diſcuſſed in a manner particularly luminous and intereſting; and the impolicy of our conduct towards that country is ſhewn in a very ſtriking point of view. We ſhall at preſent extract the concluding part of this argument, not ſo much for its relation to Swiſs affairs, as becauſe it exhibits an afflicting, and, we fear, a very correct picture of the foreign policy of England for many years.

'But the conduct of England relative to Swiſs affairs, was indeed unfortunate in other reſpects. She ſeems to have joined with the allies in miſconceiving at all times the importance of the Alpine territory. Her treatment of the cantons, when France invaded them in 1802, and the misfortunes which befel her allies in thoſe countries, through the unſkilfulneſs of the Engliſh agents, during the whole of the laſt war, will not ſoon be forgotten by the Swiſs. But a more recent impolicy on our part, has thrown away all the advantages which the coalition might ſtill have expected from the tried valour of that people, and their unconquerable hatred of France. We granted penſions to many of the Swiſs officers who had entered our ſervice during the laſt war, and always on the expreſs condition that they ſhould *not* reſide in Switzerland. Theſe brave men, whoſe influence with their countrymen was powerful; whoſe fidelity to our cauſe had never been ſuſpected; who only panted after the moment when their rage againſt France might once ſhew itſelf at the head of their peaſantry, were thus deprived of the only means by which they could maintain their perſonal authority, and ſupport the good cauſe in their own country. Had they been allowed to receive at home a penſion, earned by the utter ruin of their fortunes in our ſervice, and not forced to earn it over again by ſubmitting to baniſhment; and had a ſimilar bounty been extended to the other reduced officers, who were left at the peace without means of ſubſiſtence, unleſs they entered the French or Helvetian ſervice; the means would have been prepared—in generoſity and prudence prepared

—of

—of rouſing the whole Alps from Conſtance to the Rhone, in hoſtility to France, as ſoon as the war ſhould break out; and the allies would then have had ſome proſpect of invading that powerful empire, on the ſide where alone it can be attacked. It muſt, however, be admitted, that ſuch a conduct on the part of England would have been anomalous, and ſufficiently inconſiſtent with the reſt of her foreign policy. To have looked forward beyond the next year; to have taken meaſures in ſilence for the ſlow preparations of diſtant events; to have gradually diſpoſed the minds of a people in our favour by kind treatment, for which no immediate return was expected, or won them by any other means than a manifeſto from a commander at the head of a paltry force; to have laid plans of war beforehand which ſhould not for ſome time burſt into view, with glare and noiſe; out of our millions to have given a few pounds for the ſupport of our firmeſt friends, ruined in our cauſe; to have ſpent what we did give, in a manner grateful to them, or really beneficial to our intereſts; in our countleſs ſubſidies, to have had a ſingle guinea beſtowed, which ſhould not be repaid by the defeat of the receiver immediately, and his utter ruin, at ſix months credit—all this would have indicated a ſtrange, unaccountable deviation from the ſyſtem which has been unremittingly at work, ſince the treaty of Pilnitz, by day and by night, during war and during truce, in aggrandizing the proud, and cruſhing the humble; and which has at length, by the moſt perſevering conſtancy of operation, happily completed the ruin of our allies, and triumphing, it muſt be confeſſed, over various and mighty obſtacles, eſtabliſhed our enemy in univerſal empire.

'Theſe four capital errors in the arrangement of the late war, are, we think, either to be aſcribed to England not having been conſulted, or elſe to her having partaken in the infatuation of the allies. But it will be ſaid that thoſe allies would give her no voice in ſuch matters as the choice of a general, the march of troops, and the plan of a campaign; and that they would have perſiſted in adhering to their own errors, even after England ſhould have pointed them out. This is not improbable; but it only ſhews for the hundredth time, that things were not ripe for a new war. If Auſtria perſiſted in preferring a general, from court favour, to the great prince who had twice ſaved the monarchy; if ſhe inſiſted on calculating her plans upon the ſuppoſition that French armies can only move ten miles a day through Flanders; if ſhe ſhut her eyes to the value of Bavaria, and refuſed to learn the paramount importance of Switzerland in any war againſt France—then it was manifeſt that nothing could be hoped for, and that Auſtria had not been ſubdued to a ſenſe of her intereſt, nor felt her real ſituation. It was the province of England to prevent her from beginning a league for which ſhe was ſo ill prepared. It was madneſs in England to hurry on the Continent to a war, which, if unſucceſsful, muſt be its laſt ſtruggle for independence, in circumſtances that made it madneſs to hope for ſucceſs.' p. 80—85.

Our author next examines the nature of the direct aſſiſtance afforded by England to the operations of her allies. The folly of the expedition to Hanover, and the extreme inutility of the landing in Naples, as well as its ruinous conſequences to the intereſts of that country, are ſatisfactorily expoſed.

'We managed with our uſual ſkill to unite all diſadvantages in one plan: we hurried on one ally to the ruin which has ſince befallen him, for the purpoſe of rendering our army uſeleſs at a time when another ally might have been ſaved by its cooperation. So uniform, ſo harmonious in every quarter have been the ſchemes of England throughout the late coalition!—And can we wonder that our affairs have been ruined amidſt the waſte of our reſources, and the ſquander of our opportunities, when we have been conſiſtent only in impolicy, laviſh of every thing but vigour, and ſtrenuous in purſuing all varieties of plan, all ſorts of ſyſtem, except thoſe which border upon prudence and wiſdom?' p. 91, 92.

The enumeration of the errors committed by England during the laſt twelve months, concludes with a juſt cenſure of the late Cabinet, for expoſing, by its official publications, ſecrets of a nature peculiarly delicate, the diſcloſure of which could ſerve no one purpoſe, except that of enraging our allies, and confirming their diſtruſt of us on every future occaſion. By the details given under this head, we find that thoſe very things are divulged which ſhould moſt ſtudiouſly have been kept private; and that the imprudence of this laſt act, fully ſuits the impolicy which marks all the reſt of the piece. The firſt branch of the ſubject cloſes with an intereſting compariſon between the character and meaſures of King William, particularly the policy that led to the grand alliance, and the wretched ſyſtem deſcribed in the foregoing part of the preſent work.

II. The ſecond part of this inquiry, which exhibits a view of the effects produced on the ſtate of Europe by the late diſaſtrous campaign, opens with a ſketch of the actual changes of dominion operated by the treaty of Preſburg. The extent of theſe, we believe, has not, by any means, been duly appreciated by the people of this country—averſe as they always are to the diſcuſſion of ſuch queſtions, and ignorant for the moſt part of continental affairs. It is the more important, therefore, to have a clear and authentic ſtatement of the ſubject in all its relations; and truly the picture which the ſection now before us preſents, is in the higheſt degree alarming. The value of the Venetian territory, both in a military and a naval point of view, and the prodigious loſs of ſecurity occaſioned to Auſtria by the ceſſion of the Tyrol, are the more immediate conſiderations which the articles of Preſburg ſuggeſt. The particular details of the ſubject cannot be abridged in this abſtract; but we ſhall ſolicit the attention

tention of our readers to the more indirect, but ſcarcely more remote conſequences of the ſubjugation of Auſtria,—the ſubjection of Switzerland to France,—the future impoſſibility of attacking France with any proſpect of ſucceſs,—the entire excluſion of Auſtria from the affairs of Italy,—and the complete ſubmiſſion of that fine country to the dominion of France. The concluſion of this part of the queſtion, in which a general view is taken of the reſults of the preceding ſtatement, deſerves to be extracted.

'Thus has the grand ſtrife between France and Auſtria at length been ſettled, by the ſurrender of Italy, more abſolute and unconditional, and in a far greater extent, than the courtiers of Charles, of Francis, or of Lewis, ever dared flatter their maſters to expect. France has now become ſole miſtreſs of that ſplendid country, from the Alps to the Streights of Meſſina. Its poſition, which domineers over the Mediterranean; its mighty reſources; the fruitfulneſs of the garden of Europe; the bays, and rivers, and harbours which open to its produce the uttermoſt ends of the earth; the foreſts which variegate its ſurface, and only break the continuity of culture to augment its powers, by preparing for this favoured land the dominion of the ſea; the genius and fire of its numerous people; the monuments of art; the remains of antiquity; the ground on which the glories of their Roman anceſtors were achieved;—all are now in the hands of the nation in the world beſt able to improve them—to combine them—to make them aid one another; and, after calling them forth, to the incalculable augmentation of her former reſources, ready to turn them againſt thoſe, if any ſuch ſhall remain, who ſtill dare to be her enemies.

'The other changes of dominion effected by the treaty of Preſburg—the emperor's ceſſion of his poſſeſſions in Suabia, and his ſubmiſſion to the further ſpoliation of the German empire;—though important in themſelves, and ſufficient, in any former period, to alarm all Europe for their conſequences; ſink into inſignificance after the entire ſurrender of Italy, which we have been contemplating. All thoſe changes have one ſimple view—the diminution of the Auſtrian monarchy; its ſeparation from France by a number of petty kingdoms dependant on the French power; the transference of the Emperor's influence in Germany to his enemies; and his confinement to the politics of the Eaſt of Europe; where alſo he is cloſely watched by France and her creatures. Nor does it make any difference upon the relative ſituation of the powers, that the ſacrifices of Auſtria have been made to aggrandize the dependants of France, and not France herſelf. That overgrown empire could not expect to keep together more nations and countries than it already counted within its limits. The only feat which the French power has not attempted, is the conciliation of thoſe peoples whom it has conquered: the only difficulties which it has not maſtered, are thoſe that natural boundaries preſent. France, therefore, finds it more eaſy to complete the incorporation of Europe by ſome intermediate proceſs,

which may aſſimilate its heterogeneous parts, and prepare them for a laſting, as well as an intimate union. In the mean time, her ſway over the principalities and powers, whom ſhe calls into exiſtence, is abſolute and certain; her influence is hourly gaining ground. Should the courſe of events maintain the nominal ſeparation of thoſe dependent kingdoms, they may, at ſome future period, revolt from her federal empire; but, for years to come, they are as ſubſervient to her purpoſes, as if they had no ſeparate names. Had ſhe not acted upon ſuch principles; had ſhe taken more to herſelf at Preſburg; ſhe would have reſembled the allies whoſe impolicy has laid Europe at her feet: ſhe would have ſeemed to gain more, but ſhe would not have been the formidable neighbour which a deeper policy has made her.' p. 117–20.

Our attention is next directed to the more general conſequences of the total and eaſy diſcomfiture of Auſtria. The ſpirit of its people is ſubdued—their belief in the aſcendant of France confirmed—their dread of renewing the ſtruggle againſt her augmented a thouſand fold. The people of France, on the other hand, are ſtrengthened by the exultation of ſucceſs;—their confidence, always great, is now boundleſs. Nothing in Europe remains to oppoſe them; and they may take, during peace, what their policy prevented them from ſeizing at the treaty of Preſburg. 'Do we not know,' ſays the author, 'that the only extenſive or durable conqueſts have been made gradually; that in treating with a humbled enemy, you raiſe him by exacting too harſh conditions; that the wiſeſt policy is to take ſomething, and by the preſent, to pave the way for future gains. One only chance of retaining even the name of independence now remains to our unfortunate ally;—ſhe muſt liſten no more to ſuch counſellors as hurried her into the late alliance in ſpite of her better reaſon. By ſkill and ſtrength ſhe may poſſibly preſerve ſome part of what is left, and improve it in peace. If ſhe once more forſakes moderate counſels, ſhe is undone.'

The ſecond branch of the Inquiry concludes with a view of our peculiar intereſts, as affected by the diſaſtrous iſſue of the late campaign. The riſk of the invaſion being attempted; and its dangers, if tried, are ſhewn to be greatly augmented by the aggrandizement of France, and the humiliation of her enemies. No fear of a continental war can now prevent our adverſary from putting his threats in execution;—no apprehenſions of unpopularity at home, ſhould he fail, will now tempt him to leave us alone. The Continent is conſtrained to remain quiet, ſhould England be utterly conquered by France; and ſhould the attempt altogether fail, any thing will be forgiven to the conqueror of Auſterlitz and Ulm. Formerly he was undone, if he tried the invaſion and failed: now he may take the chance of ſucceeding, and

and the certainty of doing us irreparable miſchief by the attempt. A ſtriking picture is drawn at this part of the argument of the real evils of an invaſion, even if it fails entirely. The following paſſage we recommend to all thoſe thoughtleſs perſons, who cry out for 'battles on their own ground.'

'With every diſpoſition to exalt the valour of Britons, and to augur well of their efforts in defence of the greateſt bleſſing which any people enjoy; we may be permitted to dread the event of a conteſt between courage and ſkill. Nor was the difference between the two ever ſo ſtrongly marked as ſince the experience of the late campaign. It is no diſreſpect to our troops and their commanders, to queſtion whether their native talents are ſufficient to ſupply their want of experience, and to wiſh that, until meaſures are taken to improve them in their art, there may be no trial of generalſhip between them and the conductors of the late German campaign. That the country could be ultimately conquered, we cannot indeed for a moment allow ourſelves to believe: but there are other evils attending an invaſion, beſides the greateſt of all evils; there are injuries ſhort of utter ruin which a nation may receive from it. We know nothing practically of war in this happy land: we have heard of its effects, and read of battles at a great diſtance; but we know it not from experience, and it is well we do not. Never was a country worſe calculated for being the ſcene of military operations, for having the hazardous iſſue of war tried within its bounds. With its wealth, its crowded population, its multitude of artizans and traders, its paper circulation, its public debts, its commercial credit; with the various factitious qualities of a nice and complicated ſyſtem of moſt artificial ſociety; and above all, without any experience whatever of a campaign on its own ground—how frightful to contemplate the miſchiefs which ſo unuſual a convulſion muſt occaſion, admitting it ſhould end in the total defeat of the invader! It is clear, that no wiſe man will deſire to ſee ſuch an experiment tried; and that, however it may end, the attempt would of itſelf be an enormous evil.' p. 128—130.

The ſecond part cloſes with a juſt exhibition of the unaccountable ſecurity in which our government were plunged during the laſt campaign; their utter careleſſneſs about the meaſures of defence during that period; and their irreparable loſs of the beſt opportunity they could enjoy of improving the military ſyſtem of this country.

III. In the third branch of the Inquiry, a comprehenſive view is taken of the remaining particulars in the preſent ſtate of Europe, under five heads:—the Spaniſh war; the ſtate of Holland, and the other powers wholly dependent on France; the politics of Auſtria, Pruſſia and Ruſſia; the ſtate of France herſelf; and the queſtions reſpecting belligerent rights with the neutral nations. The evil conſequences of the war with Spain; our impolicy in forcing

forcing that power into the hands of France, at the moment when our object was to free the Continent by a general alliance againſt the common enemy; our inconſiſtency in conducting the Spaniſh war upon a plan which united every diſadvantage, and avoided all chance of gaining more than a few caſks of dollars, are demonſtrated in a very ſatisfactory manner. The proof reſpecting Holland is equally ſtrong. The cauſes of her ſubjection to France, her extreme unwillingneſs to throw off the yoke, and her averſion to England, are pointed out from a review of the circumſtances in which the Dutch people are placed. The entire hopeleſsneſs of all attempts to free them, or reduce the French influence in that ſubmiſſive country, is the manifeſt concluſion from this part of the argument. The ſame inference is extended to Switzerland, Italy, and the petty kingdoms of Germany.

'For a long courſe of years' (concludes the author) 'they muſt ſubmit in ſilence, however well inclined to rebel; and the worſt ſervice that the well-wiſhers of European independence could render them, would be to ſtir up any premature attempt at effecting their deliverance. We may reſt aſſured, then, that the petty ſtates by whom France has ſurrounded herſelf, as well as the more powerful dominions which ſhe has ſucceeded in ſubduing, are firmly united to her fortunes, ſome by their weakneſs, others by their diſinclination to exert their ſtrength in a way which they deem hurtful to their intereſts; that from Holland to Switzerland, and from Switzerland to Turkey, ſhe has covered a frontier almoſt every where ſtrong by nature, with dependent nations, whom there is no chance of our ſeeing revolt, and who will always bear the firſt ſhock of a war waged againſt her, if they do not actively aſſiſt in her offenſive operations. What remains for the reſt of Europe to undertake, in its own behalf, may not be very eaſily diſcovered: but nothing can be more plain than the courſe of policy which ſhould, at the preſent juncture, be avoided—the vain attempt to force thoſe ſubject nations into new and ruinous efforts at regaining their independence.' p. 157. 158.

The weakneſs of Auſtria, from the mal-adminiſtration of her affairs, and the long eſtabliſhed errors of her internal policy, is deſcribed at great length. This part of the ſubject is handled very much in detail, and abounds with important information upon ſome branches of political economy. It concludes with a ſtatement of the advantage derived to France from the jealouſies which divide the only three powers whom ſhe has not yet ſubdued, and the hopeleſsneſs of any new confederacy againſt her, until time ſhall have been given for the reſtoration of harmony among them, as well as for the development of their natural reſources. The actual extent of the French power itſelf forms the next ſubject of contemplation; and in this ſurvey, the object that chiefly arreſts our attention, is the nature of the military conſcription, of which a truly frightful picture is exhibited. We extract the concluding paſſage of this ſtatement.

'Thus,

'Thus, we find that it is no exaggeration, no metaphorical language to denominate France a great military empire: to ſay that the government now calls forth the whole reſources of the ſtate, and that every Frenchman is literally a ſoldier. Nothing like this has ever appeared ſince the early days of the Roman people. The feudal militia had not the ſame regularity, the ſame ſcience and diſcipline. The inſurrection of Hungary, the riſing *en maſſe* of Switzerland and America, were all confined to particular emergencies. The national guards and firſt conſcriptions of France herſelf, which approach nearer to the new order of things, were ſtill far inferior to it in ſyſtematic arrangement and extent of operation; yet by their aid, imperfect as they were in the compariſon, ſhe gained all that ſhe had conquered previous to the laſt campaign. But her preſent ſyſtem is in truth a terrible ſpectacle. The moſt numerous and ingenious people in the world have abandoned the arts of peace, not for their defence, but after having conquered all the nations around them. They have betaken themſelves to the military life as their main purſuit, almoſt their excluſive occupation, not from impatience of a long continued quiet, but at the end of various revolutions, and a ſeries of the moſt deſtructive wars. With a government purely military, a ſtock of ſcience peculiarly adapted to the ſame purſuits, and a ſpecies of wealth not likely to be immediately ruined by ſuch a change, they have eſtabliſhed a regular ſyſtem of diſcipline, which draws every arm into the ſervice of the country, and renders the whole ſurface of the moſt compact, extenſive, and beſt ſituated country in Europe, one vaſt camp, ſwarming with the fineſt ſoldiers—

'Ubi fas verſum atque nefas: tot bella per orbem,' &c.

This branch of the Inquiry cloſes with a full diſcuſſion of the neutral queſtion, at preſent ſo much agitated in this country and America. It is unneceſſary to dwell upon the reaſonings contained in it, as they coincide for the moſt part with thoſe which we have ourſelves ſubmitted upon the ſame ſubject in the preſent Number. We ſhall only remark, that the author waves the queſtion of right, applies himſelf chiefly to ſhew that the value of the object in diſpute has been greatly exaggerated, and proves, that every argument of policy is againſt the aſſertion of our claims.

'All the evils or difficulties,' (it is obſerved) 'which preſs upon this branch of our affairs, are the neceſſary conſequences of the long war in which we have been engaged. They are part of that ſucceſſion which the new adminiſtration have fallen heirs to; a ſucceſſion made up of all the dangers and difficulties which a long courſe of miſmanagement and misfortune has accumulated upon the country.'

The tract concludes with a ſtatement of the inferences ſuggeſted by the foregoing inveſtigation reſpecting the policy which this country ought now to adopt, if ſhe wiſhes to remain independent, and to preſerve a chance of once more liberating the reſt of Europe.

'That

'That the high, unbending, unaccommodating tone, which we have been accuſtomed to hold all over the world, and which the perſonal behaviour of our foreign miniſters has generally rendered ſtill more unpalatable, is in the extreme fooliſh at all times, and particularly unfit for the preſent aſpect of things, needs not be proved by a ſingle argument, or illuſtrated by one example. Nor is it leſs obvious, that the feelings and the language of conciliation, of moderate views, of calm and temperate dignity to our enemies, of friendly ſincerity and frankneſs to our allies, are the feelings and the language moſt ſubſervient at all times to our higheſt intereſts; moſt conſiſtent with our true honour; and moſt agreeable to the ſituation in which the affairs of Europe, as well as of England, are placed in the preſent criſis.' p. 206, 207.

A more particular delineation is then given of the ſyſtem which ought to be purſued at home and abroad, as adapted to our perilous ſituation. The chief points touched upon are, the employment of able men in our foreign diplomacy: the reform of our Weſt Indian colonies, by the abolition of the ſlave trade; and the relaxation of the navigation law: the recurrence to a wiſe and pacific, and, if it be poſſible in that country to talk of juſtice, a juſt ſyſtem of policy in the Eaſt; the reform of abuſes in our domeſtic adminiſtration; and the improvement of the Catholics in Ireland. But the grand change of all is, the recommendation of pacific views, with which the work concludes, and to which, indeed, every page of it leads by irreſiſtable arguments. This paſſage forms our laſt extract, which we give with a ſincerity of joy, proportioned to our wiſhes that ſuch counſels may at laſt prevail, and to our deſire that the world may now be ſaved, while it is yet poſſible, by the reſtoration of tranquillity.

'It is, indeed, abundantly clear, that the ſtate of our affairs, domeſtic as well as foreign, enjoins a ſtrict regard to the conciliatory ſyſtem in general, and prepares us more eſpecially to expect, in ſuch a peace as may be conſiſtent with our real honour, the higheſt advantages, both to our own intereſts and thoſe of Europe at large. With regard to the continent, it has already been demonſtrated that nothing but miſchief can poſſibly accrue from a renewal of the late unhappy war. What then is likely to reſult from things remaining in their preſent unſettled ſtate? Will the enemy, ſo long as we refuſe to give him peace, ſo long as we prevent our allies from treating, ſo long as we do not uſe our influence to bring about a negotiation—will he abſtain from reaping the thouſand advantages of his preſent ſituation? Will he ſubmit to all the evils of warfare, and forego all its gains? Will he unite in his plan all the loſſes of war and all the conſtraints of peace? This would be too cloſe an imitation of our own conduct with regard to Spain. Unhappily we cannot expect to be imitated in our European tactics. Our Eaſt Indian policy will ſuit him better. He will go on conquering ſuch of our allies as continue hoſtile; uniting with thoſe whom he may intimidate,

or

or allure to ſhare in the plunder of the reſt; ſtretching his creations of kings over the North of Germany; aggrandizing thoſe whom he has made in the South; extending his dominion in Italy over the iſlands, and from Italy ſtriding onwards to the Eaſt.

Jam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit
Actum, inquit, nihil eſt.

'To all this proſpect of loſs, from a ſenſeleſs prolongation of a war which has unfortunately reached its natural concluſion, the enemies of peace can only oppoſe certain vague indefinite fears of the dangers with which they conceive a peace to be pregnant. Firſt, they imagine that good or even fair terms cannot be expected; then they think the enemy will not be ſincere; next, they dread his taking the opportunity of recruiting his reſources, and eſpecially of reſtoring his navy; laſtly, they expect that he will take us by ſurpriſe, and attack us when he is ſure to ſucceed. In all theſe apprehenſions, however, there is a great deal of miſconception, and no ſmall inconſiſtency. As to the terms, we muſt firſt ſee what he offers. It is indeed very evident, that we cannot expect ſuch favourable conditions for the Continent, as if we had not plunged it into the late war, and occaſioned the ruin of Auſtria, the conqueſt of Naples, and the aggrandizement of France and her dependencies. We cannot hope ſuch terms as the preſent Adminiſtration would have gained, had it been formed two years ago. But it is equally clear, that, if the enemy finds his advantage in peace, (and if he does not, we need neither expect it nor deſire it), and if he eſtimates, as he muſt, the high ſpirit, and unconquerable valour of this country, he will make no propoſals which can diſhonour us. He will even tempt us to overcome our repugnance towards him, and our contempt of his new authority, by ſome favourable conceſſions. Then, with regard to his ſincerity, we may ſafely conclude that the ſame motive which leads him to think of making a peace, will induce him to keep it—the motive of intereſt—for what can he gain by a tranſient peace, except the paltry ceſſion of a few iſlands, which we ſhall always be able to retake, with the troops and ſhipping he may ſend thither, ſo long as our marine is ſuperior to his.—Next, as to his recruiting his reſources, and particularly his navy, this he moſt undoubtedly will attempt to do. We muſt lay our account with it. We mean to recruit our own army, and he muſt lay his account with that. But does it follow, that he will be able to acquire a navy equal to ours during the peace? Where are his ſeamen? Where are his officers and pilots? Where are his Nelſons? Should the peace laſt for ten years, which is unfortunately a high eſtimate, how much would England gain in her commerce, her finances, her colonial and domeſtic economy, her military ſyſtem, her foreign policy! And France, too, would gain ſomewhat in ſeveral of theſe particulars. Her trade would increaſe, and ſhe would acquire colonial eſtabliſhments. Would not this make her much leſs warlike? Would it not be utterly incompatible with the military conſcription, the moſt formidable feature in her preſent aſpect? Would it not render her leſs military in peace, and

and more averſe to war, the greateſt of evils to a mercantile and colonial nation? But could her navy in ten, or even twenty years of peace, poſſibly grow up ſo as to match our own? Should we not, at the end of ſuch a happy period, enter upon the war with our commerce augmented, our finances cleared from debt, our wealth more able to ſupply our neceſſities, our navy more numerous? And would not this be the very ſame thing with beginning a new ſeries of brilliant victories over the navy of our enemies? Beſides, with the reſtoration of our continental relations, and the improvement of our army, might we not fairly expect even ſucceſs on ſhore, as well as at ſea? Why is not France averſe to peace from her fears of our commerce increaſing, and our army being eſtabliſhed on a new ſyſtem? Why then ſhould we, who are as courageous as herſelf, dread the progreſs of her trade, and the reeſtabliſhment of her marine? But to all ſuch fears one anſwer may be given—they prove too much—they prove that peace can never be made, if they diſſuade us from making it now; they have no application to this particular time, they are apprehenſions of all times, and they go to involve the world in one eternal war.' p. 212–217.

We now take leave of this moſt important tract, which we have done little more than faintly deſcribe to our readers; and which, both for the magnitude of its object, and the merits of its execution, would, we are fully ſenſible, have deſerved a more able review. But we conceive that the extracts which we have given, and the abſtract which we have reſorted to, when the original could not be laid before our readers, may have the effect of ſpreading more univerſally the knowledge of its contents; happy if, by our humble efforts, we ſhall ſucceed in our earneſt wiſh to aid thoſe ſalutary effects, which we think it cannot fail to produce upon the minds of men in this eventful criſis. The only parts of the author's doctrines in which we do not heartily agree, are thoſe, we are ſorry to ſay, which are of a conſolatory nature. We do not think he has at all exaggerated the dangers of war, but we cannot help ſuſpecting that he has underrated the dangers of peace; and, deſponding as we have no doubt he will appear to many of the ſanguine ſpirits of this country, we only blame him for giving too flattering a picture of the hopes and reſources which remain to us.

ART. XVI. *Leonora.* By Miſs Edgeworth. Two Volumes. pp. 580. London, 1806.

MISS EDGEWORTH always writes with good ſenſe, and with good intentions: but this is not among her beſt doings. The ſtory is neither very probable, nor very intereſting;—moſt of the

the characters are rather ſketches than finiſhed portraits; and there is a want both of perſons and of incidents, which produces a degree of languor not to have been expected in ſo ſhort a work of ſo animated a writer. There are not many perſons, we believe, in this country, who ſtand in need of the leſſons it is intended to teach; and perhaps it is not altogether calculated to produce much effect upon ſuch perſons. All the leſſons which it does teach, however, are ſalutary; and all the effect it can produce, muſt be favourable. It is chiefly for this reaſon that we have thought it worth while to give a ſhort account of it.

The ſtory is that of a wife, virtuous, well-bred Engliſh huſband, who is ſeduced from the moſt amiable wife in the world, by the arts of a Frenchified coquette; and after having run the whole career of unlawful intrigue and gallantry, has his eyes opened to the true character of his ſeducer, and returns penitent and humiliated to his generous and forgiving conſort. This is a very narrow foundation, our readers will perceive, for a novel in two volumes: but it is eaſy to diſcover, that it was not ſo much the ſtory, as the moral, that Miſs Edgeworth was anxious about, and that ſhe intended this fable merely as a vehicle for thoſe diſquiſitions on affected ſenſibility and conjugal duty with which it is very copiouſly adorned. The work being thrown into the form of letters, gives her an opportunity of introducing theſe with great felicity and ſucceſs; and ſhe has put together a number of remarks and reaſonings, which we have peruſed with great ſatisfaction and delight. The evil, however, we think, is ſcarcely of ſo urgent a nature as to make us ſet any extraordinary value upon the remedy. The affectation or the indulgence of exceſſive ſenſibility, is no longer the vice of our countrywomen;—they have been pretty well laughed out of it; and, we believe, no tolerably well educated young woman of eighteen, would feel any thing but contempt and deriſion for ſuch effuſions as fell from the pen of Lady Olivia. The faſhion has gone down now to the lower orders of ſociety; and we dare ſay there is ſtill a good deal of raving about tideleſs blooded ſouls, overwhelming emotions, and narrow prejudices, among the abigails and dealers in ſmall millinery, who read novels, and ſip ratafia upon the borders of proſtitution:—But as it was not for ſuch patients, we preſume, that Miſs Edgeworth compounded her cordials, we ſcarcely think ſhe will find much occaſion for them in the world ſhe takes charge of.

The character of this ſentimental lady and her French friend, we do not think very well drawn. Both are caricatured, and their views and follies ſo clearly marked, as to render it quite improbable that they ſhould impoſe upon any perſon of common obſervation or knowledge of the world. The French picture is the beſt,

beſt, and has certainly a number of national traits, that muſt have been derived from modern obſervation; but we did expect ſomething more highly finiſhed from the hiſtorian of Lady Delacour.

We complained, on a former occaſion, of the partiality which led Miſs Edgeworth, in all her conjugal portraits, to give ſuch an unreaſonable ſhare of merit to the lady; and we cannot eaſily forgive her upon this occaſion, for having made her Engliſh wife in all reſpects ſo much more amiable and reſpectable than her huſband. At the ſame time, we muſt own that ſhe makes ſome amends, by inculcating the duties of ſubmiſſion, gentleneſs and obedience, in a moſt zealous and orthodox manner. Both in the tale of Griſelda, and in the work now before us, ſhe has been at much laudable pains to hold up to ridicule and contempt, the magnanimous pretenſions of thoſe who are commonly called women of ſpirit; and to point out the groſs folly and impropriety of that vindictive and irritating temper of mind, in defence of which we have heard ſo many ladies grow eloquent. We think, indeed, that ſhe has attained a far juſter notion of female than of male excellence; and hope ſincerely, for the ſake of our ſex, that fortune may ſoon introduce her to ſome maſculine model, from which ſhe may be enabled to draw a worthy companion for Lady Leonora and the reſt of her accompliſhed heroines.

We have not room to preſent our readers with any of the narrative parts of theſe volumes; and, in truth, they would not be very intelligible, without a long introductory explanation. As a ſpecimen, we rather give ſome of Miſs Edgeworth's general remarks upon modern female philoſophy.

'A taſte for the elegant profligacy of French gallantry was, I remember, introduced into this country before the deſtruction of the French monarchy. Since that time, ſome ſentimental writers and pretended philoſophers of our own and foreign countries have endeavoured to confound all our ideas of morality. To every rule of right they have found exceptions, and on theſe they have fixed the public attention by adorning them with all the ſplendid decorations of eloquence; ſo that the rule is deſpiſed or forgotten, and the exception triumphantly eſtabliſhed in its ſtead.'—'They put extreme caſes, in which virtue may become vice, or vice virtue: they exhibit criminal paſſions in conſtant connexion with the moſt exalted, the moſt amiable virtues. Thus making uſe of the beſt feelings of human nature for the worſt purpoſes, they engage pity or admiration perpetually on the ſide of guilt. Eternally talking of philoſophy and philanthropy, they only borrow the terms, to perplex the ignorant and ſeduce the imaginative. They have their ſyſtems and their theories; and in theory they pretend that the general good of ſociety is their ſole immutable rule of morality, and in practice they make the variable feelings of each individual the judges

of

of this general good. Their systems disdain all the vulgar virtues, intent upon some *beau ideal* of perfection or perfectibility. They set common sense and common honesty at defiance. No matter:—their doctrine, so convenient to the passions and soporific to the conscience, can never want partisans; especially by weak and enthusiastic women it is adopted and propagated with eagerness: then they become personages of importance, and zealots in support of their sublime opinions:—and they can read; and they can write; and they can talk; and they can *effect a revolution in public opinion!* I am afraid, indeed, that they can: for of late years we have heard more of sentiment than of principles; more of the rights of woman then of her duties.' Vol. I. p. 21—23.

In another place, the same sagacious person, in making some remarks on one of the sentimental lady's epistles, observes,

'She begins with a bold exclamation on "the misfortune of being born a woman!—*the slave or the outcast of society, condemned to incessant hypocrisy!*" Does she mean modesty? Her manly soul feels it "*the most degrading punishment that omnipotent cruelty could devise, to be imprisoned in a female form.*" From such a masculine spirit some fortitude and magnanimity might be expected; but presently she begs to be pitied, for a broken spirit, and more than female tenderness of heart. I have observed that the ladies, who wish to be men, are usually those who have not sufficient strength of mind to be women.

'It is the common trick of unprincipled women to affect to despise those who conduct themselves with propriety. Prudence they term *coldness*; fortitude, *insensibility*; and regard to the rights of others, *prejudice*. By this perversion of terms they would laugh or sneer virtue out of countenance; and, by robbing her of all praise, they would deprive her of all immediate motive. Conscious of their own degradation, they would lower every thing, and every body, to their own standard: they would make you believe, that those who have not yielded to their passions, are destitute of sensibility; that the love, which is not blazoned forth in glaring colours, is not entitled to our sympathy. The sacrifice of the strongest feelings of the human heart to a sense of duty, is to be called mean or absurd; but the shameless phrenzy of passion, exposing itself to public gaze, is to be an object of admiration. These heroines talk of strength of mind; but they forget that strength of mind is to be shown in resisting their passions, not in yielding to them.' I. p. 38—40.

'Besides, what confidence can you repose in them? If you should happen to be an obstacle in the way of any of their fancies, do you think that they will respect you or your interests, when they have not scrupled to sacrifice their own to the gratification of their passions? Do you think that the gossamer of sentiment will restrain those whom the strong chains of prudence could not hold?' I. p. 46.

The following is equally just and equally forcible.

'Why ſhould you, my dear L——, expect ſuch ſuperlative excellence from your Olivia? Do you think that a woman, by loſing one virtue, increaſes the ſtrength of thoſe that remain, as it is ſaid that the loſs of one of our ſenſes renders all the others more acute? Do you think that a lady, by yielding to love, and by proving that ſhe has not ſufficient reſolution or forbearance to preſerve the honour of her ſex, gives the beſt poſſible demonſtration of her having ſufficient ſtrength of character to riſe ſuperior to all the other weakneſſes incident to human, and more eſpecially to female nature—envy and jealouſy for inſtance?' II. p. 189. 190.

This we think is all very good; but it is not very entertaining; and the readers of novels inſiſt upon being entertained in the firſt place, and merely ſubmit to as much inſtruction as can be inſinuated into their minds, without putting them to any trouble. There are many gayer things in the book; but we chooſe to conclude our extracts with the following letter of Leonora to her mother, written immediately after the conviction of her huſband's alienation had begun to force itſelf upon her mind. It is more natural, we think, than Miſs Edgeworth's gaieties, and more likely to pleaſe thoſe whom ſhe ſhould be moſt ſolicitous about pleaſing.

'You know that I am not naturally or habitually of a jealous temper, but I am conſcious of having lately felt a diſpoſition to jealouſy. I have been ſpoiled by the exceſſive attention which my huſband paid to me in the firſt year of our marriage.

'You warned me not to fancy that he could continue always a lover. I did not, at leaſt I tried not to expect ſuch an impoſſibility. I was prepared for the change, at leaſt I thought I was: yet now the time, the inevitable time is come, and I have not the fortitude to bear it as I ought. If I had never known what it was to poſſeſs his love, I might perhaps be content with his friendſhip. If I could feel only friendſhip for him, I ſhould now poſſibly be happy. I know that I have the firſt place in his eſteem; I do believe—I ſhould be miſerable indeed if I did not believe—that I have the firſt place in his affection. But this affection is certainly different from what it once was. I wiſh I could forget the difference. No: I retract that wiſh; however painful the compariſon, the recollection of times that are paſt is delightful to my heart. Yet, my dear mother, if ſuch times are never to return, it would be better for me to forget that they have ever been. It would be wiſer not to let my imagination recur to the paſt, which could then tend only to render me diſcontented with the preſent and with the future. The FUTURE! how melancholy that word ſounds to me! what a dreary length of proſpect it brings to my view! How young I am, how many years may I have to live, and how little motive have I left in life! Thoſe which uſed to act moſt forcibly upon me, have now ſcarcely power to move my mind. The ſenſe of duty, it is true, raiſes me to ſome degree of exertion: I hope that I do not neglect the educa-

tion

cation of the two children whom my poor ſiſter bequeathed to my care. When my mind was at eaſe, they were my delight; but now I feel that I am rather interrupted than intereſted by their childiſh gaiety and amuſements.

'I am afraid that I am growing ſelfiſh, and I am ſure that I have become ſhamefully indolent. I go on with certain occupations every day from habit, not from choice; my mind is not in them. I uſed to flatter myſelf that I did many things from a ſenſe of duty and of general benevolence, which I am now convinced were done merely from a particular wiſh to pleaſe, and to make myſelf more and more beloved by the object of my fondeſt affection. Diſappointed in this hope, I ſink into indolence, from which the deſire to entertain my friends is not ſufficient to rouſe me. Helen has been ſummoned away; but I believe I told you that Mr and Mrs F**, whoſe company is peculiarly agreeable to my taſte, and Lady M***** and her amiable daughters, and your witty friend *****, are with us. In ſuch ſociety I am aſhamed of being ſtupid; yet I cannot contribute to the amuſement of the company, and I feel ſurpriſed at their animation and ſprightlineſs. It ſeems as if I was looking on at dancers without hearing any muſic. Sometimes I fear that my ſilence ſhould be obſerved, and then I begin to talk without well knowing what I am ſaying. I confine myſelf to the moſt common-place ſubjects, and heſitate from the dread of ſaying ſomething quite foreign to the purpoſe. What muſt Mr L—— think of my ſtupidity? But he does not, I believe, perceive it; he is ſo much occupied with—with other objects.—I am glad that he does not ſee all that paſſes in my mind, for he might deſpiſe me if he knew that I am ſo miſerable. I did not mean to uſe ſo ſtrong an expreſſion; but now it is written, I will not blot it out, leſt you ſhould fancy ſomething worſe than the reality. I am not, however, yet ſo weak as to be ſeriouſly *miſerable*, when I have no real cauſe to be ſo. The truth is ——————. Now you know this phraſe is a tacit confeſſion, that all that has been ſaid before is falſe. The real truth is ————. By my prefacing ſo long, you may be ſure that I have reaſon to be aſhamed of this real truth's coming out The real truth is, that I have been ſo long accuſtomed to be the firſt and *only* object of my huſband's thoughts, that I cannot bear to ſee him think of any thing elſe. Yes; *things* I can bear, but not *perſons*—female perſons.—And there is one perſon here who is ſo much more agreeable and entertaining than I am, that ſhe engroſſes very naturally almoſt all his attention.' I. p. 170—176.

Upon the whole, though we think this work inferior, in point of brilliancy and variety, to ſome of Miſs Edgeworth's former productions, we admit it, without heſitation, to be an ingenious and meritorious performance. We are partial, indeed, we will confeſs, to Miſs Edgeworth; for we think the public very greatly indebted to her; and conceive that ſhe has come nearer the true tone of moral inſtruction than any other writer we are acquainted with.

Againſt the greater vices we may declaim from the pulpit or the preſs: or we may let it alone, exactly as we like beſt: for no man practiſes them ignorantly; nor can we tell him more about their conſequences than he knows already, and has determined to hazard. But the ſmaller vices—thoſe which make up the profligacy of an individual and the corruption of a people, are committed by thouſands from mere careleſſneſs and vanity, or from example and miſtaken opinions; and it is to the correction of theſe, or of ſuch claſſes of them as have become epidemic in a ſociety, that a moral writer may apply his exertions with ſome hopes of ſucceſs. The firſt great point is, not to magnify their enormity, and not to be more angry than is permitted to be in real life:—The next is, to appear perfectly well acquainted with the world, in which thoſe things are tranſacted, and to view with perfect good humour all the indulgences and palliations that they meet with from thoſe who witneſs and perform them, and then to attack them with ridicule inſtead of reprobation; to ſhew how well they may be ſeparated from all that is liberal and eaſy, and even from all that is brilliant and fantaſtic; and how much they detract from real comfort, and interfere with every ſcheme of happineſs. It is a raſh, and for the moſt part a vain attempt, to think of appealing to a man's *conſcience* againſt practices which are ſanctioned by all around him, and in which he indulges without any diſtinct feeling of depravity. He will treat all ſuch attempts as ſtupid preachments, proceeding from deſpicable ignorance of the world, or aſcetic cant and hypocriſy. The only chance is, to attack him on the ſcore of *prudence* or of *pride*; to ſhew that the practices we mean to condemn are fooliſh and deſpicable; that they indicate want of talents or of ſpirit; and that they are objects of deriſion and contempt to the more illuſtrious perſons in ſociety. To do this with ſucceſs, we muſt neither be too rigorous nor too refined. If we talk either like ſcrupulous puriſts, or ſentimental innocents, we ſhall be laughed at and neglected. We muſt aſſume a certain familiar and ſecular tone, and rather endeavour to ſhew that we are more knowing, than that we are more virtuous than thoſe we addreſs. It is only in this way that we have a chance of being liſtened to; and if that great point can once be gained, it does appear to us, that by mixing our reaſons and our ridicule in juſt proportion, by making our inſtances rapid and amuſing, and concentrating our proofs into ſtriking and intereſting groups, we may produce a conſiderable effect upon the minds of all who are worth reforming, or give impreſſions, at leaſt, which after experience may develop into ſalutary conviction.

Now, it is by aſſuming this tone, and applying herſelf to this method of inſtruction, that we think Miſs Edgeworth has deſerv-

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ed well of the community. We do not know any books that are more likely to be uſeful than moſt of thoſe ſhe has publiſhed; and while we willingly do all we can to promote their notoriety, we earneſtly exhort her to multiply their number. We rather wiſh ſhe would write more moral tales; for though it requires ſome reſolution to diſſuade the author of Belinda from delineating the character of faſhionable life, we are ſatisfied that ſhe will do moſt good by continuing the former publication. By works like Belinda or Leonora, ſhe can only hope to correct the vices, or abate the follies of three or four perſons of faſhion: by improving the plan of the Moral Tales, ſhe may promote the happineſs and the reſpectability of many thouſands in all ranks of ſociety.

ART. XVII. *Rhymes on Art; or, the Remonſtrance of a Painter. In Two Parts. With Notes, and a Preface; Including Strictures on the State of the Arts, Criticiſm, Patronage, and Public Taſte.* By Martin Archer Shee, R. A. The Second Edition, with an Additional Preface and Notes. Murray, London. 1805.

THE poetical part of this work would have juſtified a more ambitious title than that which the author has beſtowed upon it. To us, indeed, its humility appears in ſome meaſure affected, and not very conſiſtent with the contempt expreſſed at the commencement of the preface, for thoſe who cry out for 'quarter' on firſt coming into the field.

The explanation which Mr Shee offers, may perhaps in ſome degree ſecure him from the imputation; but certain it is, that merit may ſometimes be undervalued, by its conſcious poſſeſſor, from a *latent* expectation, that what he himſelf ſubtracts, the good nature of others will add to the amount of his praiſe. Amongſt the motives which induced the author to give his work to the public, he informs us (note, p. 53. of the preface) that a ſlight ſeaſoning of literary ambition had its ſhare. But we cannot ſee that the object of this ambition was likely to be accompliſhed by any production correſponding to the title by which he has uſhered this effort of his Muſe into the world.

Beſides the poetical part of this volume, we have two prefaces and notes, neither of which, in point of magnitude, bear a very ordinary proportion to the poem which they accompany. The proſe compoſition, however, we have found not the leaſt intereſting part of the work; and with the exception of ſome paſſages in which there is an unneceſſary repetition of the ſame thoughts and arguments which the author had previouſly diſcuſſed, we were

not inclined to grudge it that proportion of the volume which it occupies. The reader's patience is indeed somewhat tried by the prolix and not very novel remarks with which he is favoured, upon the feelings and views which accompany an adventure into the fields of literature. But after the author has sufficiently evinced his respect for the public, by a profusion of bows and apologies on his first introduction to their presence, he gradually acquires courage to enter upon the object of his visit. This preparatory talk occupies about ten pages of the preface, at the end of which he discovers it to be full time to request our attention to his business.

Mr Shee is a respectable portrait-painter in London. The laudable design for which, in the present instance, he has laid aside his pencil for the pen, is to entreat, for the arts in his native country, that encouragement and support, on which they must, in every situation, so essentially depend. The author, indeed, sets out with the professed intention of illustrating the *principles* of his art. But we agree with himself in thinking this the least interesting part of the work, which certainly derives its chief importance from the tendency it may have to bring into serious consideration the most eligible public measures for cultivating the genius and exciting the exertions of British artists.

The perfection to which the arts were carried in those few and memorable periods when they were regarded as high and important objects of public support, and particularly under the liberal and magnificent patronage of the Medici family—the numbers who then attained an eminence, to which their successors have since looked up with a veneration approaching to despair, seems a warrantable ground for us to hope that, under circumstances equally propitious, we might be again enabled to boast of such artists. The history of the arts affords, indeed, some solitary instances of eminent skill acquired in situations the most unfavourable to their cultivation; but this, so far from weakening the argument for liberal encouragement from men of taste and influence, only proves, that abilities and perseverance are possessed by some individuals in degrees far beyond what fall to the lot of men in general; and leads us to regret that genius, which, under disadvantages so great, could maintain its activity and fire, had not been supported by the vital influence of that generous patronage which would have raised it to still greater splendour. The place of public patronage, we are perfectly satisfied, can never be supplied with good effect, even to a single artist, by any support which it is in the power of an individual to bestow. To the favour of a single individual, the mind attaches certain unavoidable feelings of dependence, extremely unfavourable to the growth of those elegant mental qualities,

lities which go to the formation of real genius. By affording, as is often the caſe, an excluſive encouragement to particular branches and departments of the arts, individual patronage may alſo do the moſt laſting injury to genius. From ſuch cauſes, how often has it been diverted from its natural channel into one leſs favourable to its particular bent! a misfortune againſt which the unreſtrained choice afforded by public patronage would have been a ſecurity.

Little advantage, therefore, is to be expected from the zeal or munificence of a few individuals, unleſs their exertions be ſeconded by a favourable diſpoſition of the public mind; nor can we heſitate to affirm with Barry, that even the ſplendid and diſtinguiſhing patronage of Coſmo and Lorenzo di Medici would have been inadequate to have produced ſuch artiſts as adorned Italy in the fifteenth and ſixteenth century, had there not exiſted, at the ſame period, a general diffuſion of taſte in that country, and a marked diſpoſition to view both the artiſt and his work with that cordial eſteem and enlightened admiration, which afford the higheſt ſtimulus to farther improvement. Where this diſpoſition is wanting, the arts cannot but languiſh and degenerate. From our entire conviction, indeed, that the higheſt influence exerted in their behalf muſt in a great meaſure be ineffectual, where the arts do not receive from the public a ſimilar cordiality of reception, or where the general taſte has taken a vulgar and contracted direction, we have our fears if any pecuniary proviſion which the Britiſh Government could deviſe, would certainly be followed by thoſe happy effects which Mr Shee appears to anticipate as their undoubted reſult. The moſt important requiſite toward the accompliſhment of this deſirable object, would be ſtill in a great meaſure wanting. The taſte of the nation cannot be ſuddenly created or reformed by any local eſtabliſhment whatever. But though we are not quite ſo ſanguine as Mr Shee as to the immediate effects of ſuch an eſtabliſhment as he ſeems to look forward to, we would not be underſtood as inſinuating that the conſequences which might be expected to flow from it, are too inconſiderable to render the experiment worthy of trial. If any ſuch experiment ſhall be judged proper, we truſt it will be readily felt and acknowledged, that the probability of a ſatisfactory iſſue is diminiſhed or increaſed in proportion to the liberality and extent of the ſcale on which it may be conducted. A national gallery for the reception of pictures, to illuſtrate the exploits of Britiſh heroiſm, was a propoſal, if we miſtake not, firſt made by Mr Opie. This plan, more than any other of the kind we have heard of, ſeems worthy the attention of government, as it would ſerve the double purpoſe of rewarding and encouraging the exertions of two claſſes in ſociety,

ciety, on whose celebrity that of their country has no small dependence.

Mr Shee remonstrates, and we fear with too much reason, against that illiberality which has for years past characterized the mode of conducting the Royal Academy.

'This establishment—which ought to be national and comprehensive; which should include within its walls every thing that is essential, expedient, or inviting to the progress of the student; which should rest on a foundation worthy of the first, the richest, the most powerful, the most generous people on earth; and which, by foreigners, is supposed to be a splendid example of public magnificence—derives its income from the disinterested labours of artists; possesses not a single original example of the old masters; and, excepting the advantage of apartments at Somerset Place, has not for many years received the smallest assistance from the state.' p. 47.

Such is the unpromising condition of an institution which inspired its first president, and brightest ornament, with the hope 'that the present age might vie in arts with that of Leo the Tenth, and that the dignity of the dyeing art might be revived under the reign of George the Third.' Whether the effects of the British institution will better correspond to the hopes it has already excited, the issue will evince. Our information as to the precise nature of this institution, is not sufficiently explicit to enable us to form any opinion of its merits. We can only state, that Mr Shee is not singular in the conviction, 'that every thing liberal and munificent is intended,' and in the hope 'that every thing wise and efficacious will be the result.'

The establishment of this institution, it appears, took place in the interval between the publication of the first and the second edition of the work before us. The event certainly operates as no small relief to the spirits of the author. They before laboured under a depression which rendered him apparently partial to the contemplation of evils, which generally meet our view in full length portraits, at least as *large as life*.

'Every person,' says he, 'interested for the fine arts, or concerned for the reputation of his country, must perceive, with more than regret, at the present moment, a growing disregard to the fate of the one, which cannot fail materially to affect the splendour of the other. *All* patriotic interest in the cultivation of British genius appears to be at an end; those who should be the patrons of artists have ceased to be even their employers,—*cedant arma togæ*;—the painter gives way to the picture-dealer; they who possess taste are indifferent, and they who pretend to it are hostile.' Pref. p. x.

This tone is discoverable through the whole performance, except in a few of the passages which are added in this edition, in which we find this dark and melancholy scene beginning to brighten.

brighten. He now tells us, that 'liberal ideas are abroad,' and that 'the ſeeds of protection are ſown in a congenial ſoil.' It is the inſtitution to which we before alluded that has effected ſo great a change in our author's views. That this change in his colouring is warranted by the cauſe, we do not pretend to queſtion; but we doubt if the dark ſide of the picture be ſo true a repreſentation of the reality. Though we readily agree that the encouragement given to the arts in this country has hitherto been leſs than their wellwiſhers muſt have deſired, yet the neglect has not, of late, been ſo very great as to threaten their 'ſinking under difficulties which neither zeal, induſtry, nor genius, can withſtand.' (p. xix. Pref.) If this were the caſe, how comes it that the author 'has no heſitation to aſſert that, from the productions of living genius at this moment in Great Britain, might be produced examples of excellence in every department of the art that would adorn the nobleſt collections, and reflect honour on any age or nation?' (p. xxxiv. Pref.)

Amongſt the cauſes which have contributed to retard the improvement of our national taſte, and of conſequence the progreſs of the arts, the author juſtly lays much ſtreſs on the want of pictures in our public buildings, and particularly on the eccleſiaſtical *law* which has expelled them out of our churches.

'No patriot acts adorn our public halls;
No goſpel glories grace religion's walls;
No martial pomps in pictur'd lore allure;
In taſte alone is public ſpirit poor.'

It is obvious, indeed, that, without a more eaſy and frequent acceſs to good pictures, the poſſeſſion of true taſte and enlightened reliſh for the art, is as little to be expected in the nation at large, as a knowlege of refined architecture in him who has rarely ſeen a higher ſpecimen than his employer's cotton-mill: not that the nation cannot boaſt of none who have ſucceſsfully cultivated a taſte for this art, but that the difficulties which obſtruct the acceſs to it are ſuch as to confine the circle to thoſe who have better opportunities, or more zeal than men in general poſſeſs, though, in all other reſpects, ſufficiently qualified for the attainment. It is thus that, inſtead of competent judges, whoſe opinions would be invaluable, the artiſt has ſo frequently to encounter the petulance which accompanies a little learning.

Whatever ground there might once have been to authoriſe our reformers to interdict, in our churches, thoſe elegant and intereſting ornaments which the arts ſupply, we cannot but ſuppoſe with our author, though we do not here intend to diſcuſs the merits of the queſtion, that, at the preſent day, there are as ſtrong arguments to be produced to refute the propriety of this *law*, as could be urged in its defence.

We

We cannot conceive any more promiſing *public meaſure* than an alteration in this reſpect, for effecting a favourable change in the aſpect of the arts—a meaſure which, while it would afford an ample field for the emulation of ſuch as have ſucceſsfully devoted their labour to the cultivation of them, would, at the ſame time, furniſh a ſchool for the ſtudent, and an infallible ſource of improvement to the public taſte.

Another circumſtance operating in hoſtility to the Britiſh arts, and on which the author lays great ſtreſs, is the blind avidity manifeſted for pictures, good or bad, which bear the names of the old maſters. How often are the obſervations expreſſed in the following quotation from a note (p. 76.) exemplified in the conduct of many who are looked up to as the connoiſſeurs of the age.

'The name of a great maſter is a paſſport through all the outports of criticiſm; Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Correggio—are ſounds with which all the beauties of the art are aſſociated. The queſtion is not ſo much the excellence, as the authenticity, of the work; the latter eſtabliſhed, the former follows of courſe; and the contented enthuſiaſt forgets, in the fervour of his zeal, that the greateſt genius proceeds at firſt in ignorance, and riſes late from mediocrity; forgets that the accompliſhed maſter he admires was once an unſkilful ſcholar; and often beſtows, on the abortive efforts of his inexperience, that applauſe which ſhould be reſerved for the beſt productions of his maturity.'

It cannot be denied, that by this unenlightened admiration, 'much of the wealth of individuals, diſpoſeable for the objects of *virtù*,' is directed into channels from which the native arts cannot derive much advantage. The gains of the artiſt muſt ſuffer a temporary abridgement; but the arts themſelves may, in the end, ſuffer leſs than our author apprehends, if, by the late inundation of foreign pictures, we gain among the rubbiſh any conſiderable addition to our national ſtock of ſuch ſpecimens as can with juſtice be denominated 'the beſt which genius can boaſt.' (Pref. p. xviii.)

Connected with this indiſcriminate rage for the works of the old maſter, is the neglect which living merit frequently ſuffers. This neglect Mr Shee particularly inſtances in the ſtriking caſe of Richard Wilſon, whom he calls the moſt accompliſhed landſcape-painter this country ever produced.

——————'Kind too late,
Relenting fortune weeps o'er Wilſon's fate;
Remorſeful owns her blindneſs; and to fame
Conſigns with ſorrow his illuſtrious name.' Part I. l. 115.

He again recurs to this ſubject, (Part I. l. 299.), and offers a caution to the candidates for *graphic* fame, which, if well founded to its full extent, would be a truly mortifying picture, both of the diſcernment and liberality of this nation.

'Nor

'Nor yet, too ſanguine, fondly deem that fame
Awaits to crown your triumphs, and proclaim,
That honour ſtill on excellence attends,
And praiſe in clouds at Merit's ſhrine aſcends:
Foes, pleas'd to cruſh coeval worth, combine,
And cenſure circulates the critic's coin;
The modern's claim faſtidious taſte denies,
Or, while he lives, reluctant grants the prize;
Fame lurks behind, till, Merit's death delay'd,
And having loſt the ſubſtance,—crowns the ſhade.'

Hitherto we have ſpoken chiefly of the reaſoning or deſign of the work before us; but its execution is alſo deſerving of ſome attention. The author has great command of language, and very conſiderable powers of fancy. His taſte, indeed, is not always perfectly correct; and he is apt to run riot among cluſters of metaphors, and to heap up his tropes and figures till the reader is rather bewildered than enlightened: But there is a force, a richneſs, and a ſpirit about his compoſitions, which makes amends for all this; and places him in a ſtation, both as a proſe writer and as a poet, which very few authors have been able to attain by a firſt publication. The following paſſage will give an idea of the general tone and caſt of his introductory diſſertation.

'It is a miſtake, unworthy of an enlightened government, to conceive that the arts, left to the influence of ordinary events, turned looſe upon ſociety, to fight and ſcramble, in the rude and revolting conteſt of coarſer occupations, can ever arrive at that perfection which contributes ſo materially to the permanent glory of a ſtate.

'This is the true handicraft conſideration of the ſubject—the warehouſe wiſdom of a dealer and chapman, who would make the artiſt a manufacturer, and meaſure his works by the yard. The arts treated commercially,—intruſted to that vulgar and inadequate impreſſion of their importance, which is to be found in the maſs of ſociety, never did, and never can flouriſh in any country. The principle of trade, and the principle of the arts, are not only diſſimilar, but incompatible. Profit is the impelling power of the one—praiſe, of the other. *Employment* is the *pabulum vitæ* of the firſt—*encouragement*, of the laſt. Theſe terms are ſynonymous in the ordinary avocations of life; but in the purſuits of taſte and genius, they differ as widely in meaning, as coldneſs from kindneſs—as the ſordid commerce of mechanics, from the liberal intercourſe of gentlemen.' Pref. p. xx–xxi.

'Whether our artiſts may not "get their bread in decent competence" from the profits of panoramas, or the projects of printſellers—by drudging in our modern manufactories of frontiſpiece and vignette—officiating as the decoy-ducks of ſporting bookſellers, and luring the public eye to works

"In which the pictures for the page atone?" Pope.

Theſe are queſtions, which, whatever importance may be attached to them,

them, the author certainly had no intention to diſcuſs. Neither did he deſign to plead the cauſe of imbecility, or aſk honours and rewards for thoſe who have ſhewn neither ambition nor merit.—The painter who purſues his art as a trade, and thinks when he is *paid* that he is rewarded, ſhould certainly be content if he is allowed, on equal terms, to play at the round game of profit and loſs, and ſhuffle his cards with the contentious crowd,

" Who follow fortune through her filthy maze."

'The author's obſervations were directed to higher points. It is not for the cultivation of mediocrity he contends, but the production of excellence; not that the artiſt may live in eaſe and luxury, but that the arts may flouriſh in pride and perfection; that an object may be held out to the ambition, not to the avarice of the painter; and that he may be fired to ſuch exertions as ſhall immortalize his name, and ſhed a glory on his country.' Pref. p. l–lii.

The following affords an example of that diſorderly ſtyle into which he is ſometimes hurried by an unruly imagination.

'The balance of trade is indeed (to ſpeak commercially) completely againſt us; and although the hardy progeny of commerce and manufacture (upon whoſe rough and luſty limbs the cumbrous ſwathings of miſtaken affection act but as the fetters of obſtruction and reſtraint) are cautiouſly cradled up in bounties and protecting duties—the tender offſpring of taſte are left helpleſs, naked, and expoſed.

'Their ſituation appears a paradox; and, like the Spaniards, after the diſcovery of the treaſures of the New World, they are impoveriſhed by an importation of wealth. So many rich galleons of art have been brought home from the *Peru* of picture-dealers, that we diſdainfully turn from our native productions; and even an ingot from the Britiſh mine is conſidered a metal too baſe for the circulation of taſte.

'Our critics are transformed to antiquaries, with whom every thing is prized that is proved to be old; and the ſterling currency of the day, though ſtamped in the mint of genius, is cried down in favour of ruſty coins, and Queen Anne's farthings.' Pref. xxx–xxxi.

This is more like poetry than proſe; and the poetry has the ſame excellences and defects. There is a good deal of ſpirit in the following reply to thoſe who maintain that there is ſomething unfavourable to the arts, in the climate and phyſical conſtitution of Britain.

'Inſult! to think the land where Shakſpeare ſprung,
The heav'n *he* breath'd—where ſeraph Milton ſung!
In ſtrains more ſweet than erſt from fabled ſhell
Of Orpheus old, or fam'd Amphion, fell:
Where Pope, where Dryden ſwept the ſounding lyre,
With Maro's melody, and Homer's fire!
Where Science, (long on weak Conjecture's wing,
A thwarted falcon, flutt'ring from the ſtring),

Look'd

Loos'd by her Newton's hand, firſt ſhot on high,
And perch'd amid the manſions of the ſky:
Inſult! to think this garden of the globe,
This ſpangle ſhining bright on Nature's robe;
From finer joys in cold ſecluſion plac'd,
A kindleſs clime beyond the beam of taſte!
On wings of fire ſuſtain'd, th' immortal mind,
Nor clime controuls, nor fog, nor froſt can bind.
Where freedom, man's moſt cheering ſunſhine, glows,
Whether on Lybian ſands, or Zemblan ſnows;
Where life exults, with each bold feeling fraught,
And Fancy fearleſs ſprings the mine of Thought:, p. 7—8.

The ſame thought is afterwards purſued with equal animation.

'What though! in Greece, when Ammon's glory ſway'd,
When proſtrate Rome Auguſtus' power obey'd,
In latter days, when Leo's luſtre ſhone,
And gorgeous Louis grac'd the Gallic throne;
What though! like rockets from the hand of time,
Through life's long gloom, ſhot ſparkling and ſublime,
Thoſe meteor ages of mankind were given,
To mark with cluſter'd ſtars the mental heaven,
And pour their blaze on earth's aſtoniſh'd view,
When Freedom's cloud-encompaſs'd orb withdrew!
Britain, for thee! a brighter age expands,
Bleſs'd rock, on which the church of Freedom ſtands!
For thee remains to prove, what radiant fires
Gild the clear heaven, where liberty inſpires;
To ſhew what ſprings of bounty from her hand,
As guſh'd the rock at Moſes' high command,
O'er Art's impoveriſh'd plains refreſhing flow,
And cheer the fainting tribes of Taſte below.' p. 41—43.

The following picture of Hogarth we ſelect from a conſiderable number.

'Hogarth, with thee! ſatiric Humour fled,
Proclaims our graphic moraliſt is dead;
Who, Sampſon-like, in conſcious might ſecure,
Burſt the ſtrong bonds that meaner minds endure;
Diſdain'd the beaten track, the common crown,
And forc'd an untried paſſage to renown:
To nature true his ſportive pencil mov'd,
Taught while it trifled, pleas'd while it reprov'd:
Struck by the harlot's woes, with ſhame oppreſs'd,
Reviving virtue wins the wanton breaſt;
No more the midnight ſcene to riot warms,
The rake reviews his *progreſs*, and reforms.' p. 15—18.

Though there be ſome coarſeneſs, there is a good deal of power and ſatirical effect in the following paſſage.

Behold!

'Behold! how pleas'd the conſcious critic ſneers,
While circling boobies ſhake their aſſes ears;
Applaud his folly, and, to feed his pride,
Bray forth abuſe on all the world beſide:
Hear him, ye gods! harangue of ſchools and ſtyles,
In pilfer'd ſcraps from Walpole and De Piles!
Direct the vain ſpectator's vacant gaze,
Drill his dull ſenſe, and teach him where to praiſe;
Of every toy, ſome tale of wonder frame,
How this from Heav'n, or Ottoboni came;
How that, long pendant on plebeian wall,
Or lumber'd in ſome filthy broker's ſtall,
Lay, loſt to fame, till by his taſte reſtor'd,
Behold the gem—ſhrin'd, curtain'd, and ador'd.' p. 88, 89.

The next is more turbulent and outrageouſly abuſive, though indicating an ardent and vigorous imagination, which might carry the author far up the ſteeps of glory, if reined by a more practiſed hand.

'Wherever power, or pride, or wealth keep court,
Behold this fulſome, fawning race reſort;
A motley group—a party-colour'd pack,
Of knave and fool—of quidnunc and of quack,
Of critic ſops, inſipid, cold, and vain,
Done in the drip of ſome poor painter's brain;
Dabblers in ſcience—dealers in virtù,
And ſycophants of every form and hue.
Low artiſts too, a buſy, babbling fry,
That friſk and wriggle in a great man's eye,
Feed on his ſmiles, and ſimp'ring at his ſide,
Catch the cold drops that flatt'ry thaws from pride;
A cunning kind of fetch-and-carry fools,
The ſcum of taſte, that bubbles up in ſchools;
Savealls of art, that ſhed a glimmering ray,
And burn the ſnuffs their betters caſt away.' p. 91, 92.

Upon the whole, we think very well both of Mr Shee's cauſe and of his talents; though we are of opinion that he has been a little too warm in ſupport of the one, and a little too raſh and intemperate in his diſplay of the other. We deſire more of his acquaintance, and have no doubt of his improvement.

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